The Social History of a Library: Four Stages in the Life of the Collection of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)

Eleanor Greer
Submitted for the degree of PhD
Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study
13 May, 2022

Word count: 96, 220

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

Signature:

Date:

Abstract

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the notion that books were of value only by virtue of their intellectual utility gave way to an expanded sense of books as both texts and material possessions. With book production soaring, serious collectors were no longer able to purchase all worthy books, and personal taste emerged as a major factor in acquisition decisions. A large private book collection became an index of status and taste among the upper classes. Much work has been done on this period of tension and changing priorities in book collecting, but most scholars have assumed that collectors saw their libraries either as repositories of information or as signifiers of social status deployed to impress their friends. This thesis introduces the idea that libraries have social histories, with varied experiences between books; rather than looking for a unifying purpose behind a book collection, it is valuable to interpret book collecting as an anthropological phenomenon made up of multiple behaviours. This work is built upon a close examination of the wonderfully preserved early 18th century library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742), now held by the National Trust at Blickling Hall. Ellys's library is a strong candidate for this approach, as there is now very little documentary evidence relating to his life or his library. In the absence of archival material, the books themselves will provide almost all the evidence of Ellys's behaviour. The thesis will attempt to answer the question of how we can use the evidence of behaviour in the books themselves, as opposed to documentary evidence, to illuminate the social history of this library. It will make use of a biographical understanding of objects, a concept borrowed from material culture studies, and will posit four stages in the life cycle of collected books: acquisition, integration, use, and afterlife.

Acquisition is the stage in which a book was brought into the library. This involves activities such as browsing catalogues and selecting specific books for purchase. It is clear from examining Ellys's acquisition behaviour that he was responding to a variety of interests and purposes in the development of his library. It is also clear that procuring books was a social activity, and that personal relationships were cultivated with authors, booksellers, and other collectors. During the integration phase a book became part of the library, and was subsumed into the collection. Ellys employed a librarian, John Mitchell, who was particularly involved in this stage by producing a catalogue of the library and writing his cataloguing code in most of the books. Examining the activities of integration demonstrates how the library as a whole was shaped to reflect Ellys's interests, priorities, and even identity. The use phase involved such diverse activities as reading, lending, and displaying. The behaviours in this phase make clear that books were valued in multiple ways: some were read thoroughly, some were skimmed, some were never opened, some functioned to display Ellys's position of social status. Even after Ellys's death, the books continued to be used in many of the same ways by his heirs. The afterlife phase begins when use ends, with the books metamorphosing into historical artefacts. For Ellys's collection, this phase has seen the National Trust take ownership of the collection. The books are now held in a museum environment and are interpreted as heritage objects rather than information sources.

By foregrounding the behaviour involved in developing and managing a private library, these four stages support the notion that libraries have social histories. Examining the evidence of all four phases in the life cycle of Ellys's books illustrates the complex, seemingly paradoxical, but ultimately authentic relationship between a collector and his library.

‘The library… “means” many things over time … It is a collection of books, a centre for scholarship, a universal memory, a maze or labyrinth, a repository of hidden or occulted knowledge, a sanctum, an archive for stories, a fortress, a space of transcendence, a focus of wealth and display, a vehicle of spirituality, an emblem of wisdom and learning, a mind or brain, an ordainer of the universe, a mausoleum, a time machine, a temple, a utopia, a gathering place, an antidote to fanaticism, a silent repository of countless unread books, a place for the pursuit of truth.’

Alice Crawford, ‘Introduction’, in *The Meaning of the Library: A Cultural History*, ed. by Alice Crawford (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. xiii–xxix (p. xvii).

‘Library history tells us about historic societies not historic libraries’

Alistair Black, ‘New Methodologies in library History: a Manifesto for the ‘New’ Library History’ *Library History* vol 11 1995, pp. 76-85 (p. 81).

Contents

Figures

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped and supported me in the writing of this thesis. I am very grateful to my supervisors, Dr Raphaële Mouren of the Warburg Institute and Professor Jason Peacey of University College London, for their invaluable discussions, feedback, advice, and encouragement.

I would also like to thank David Pearson and Mark Purcell for sharing their knowledge with me.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the staff at Blickling Hall and the National Trust (particularly John Gandy, Megan Dennis, Tim Pye, and Jane Eade).

I would also like to express gratitude to the many libraries and archives that gave me a place to work, helped me find obscure references, and provided me with information and images. I extend particular thanks to Cambridge University Library and its wonderful staff.

I am very grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for funding my degree.

I also thank Madisson Brown at the Warburg Institute for her kind support and understanding.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my family and friends: Mum, Dad, Emily, Shani and Alice. I couldn’t have done it without you.

Preface

The progress and development of this PhD thesis have been unavoidably interrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic. Lockdowns and travel restrictions prevented me from undertaking the research trip to Blickling Hall that I had planned for spring 2020. The Blickling estate itself was closed with staff on furlough, which meant I was not able to correspond with the librarian for nearly a year; neither could he continue work with the online catalogue, which stalled my project further. Archival collections in Norfolk, London, Edinburgh and Oxford were closed for months, and I was also not able to access library resources. All this entailed a significant delay to my research.

I am certain that there are things I missed, and books I did not have a chance to see. Nevertheless, I was able to undertake sufficient primary and secondary research to complete my PhD thesis. As pandemic restrictions begin to ease in 2022, I am hopeful that I will be able to fill in the known gaps in preparing my work for publication.

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis will develop a new approach to the study of private book collecting, based on a life cycle of four discrete phases identified by distinct sets of behaviour: acquisition, integration, use, and afterlife. It will make use of the collection of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742) as a case study for this method, undertaking a rigorous examination of the library catalogue(s), the books of the collection, and what few archival records remain. The concept of object life cycles is borrowed from Material Culture Studies,[1] and by bringing material culture studies and an anthropological focus on human behaviour into the field of library history, this thesis will show that a biographical understanding of objects allows us to see the complex and nuanced social history of a library.

Sir Richard Ellys of Nocton, Lincolnshire, developed a substantial library of several thousand items, which is now owned by the National Trust and remains as an almost perfectly intact monument to his personal interests and wider circumstances. The National Trust is one of the largest institutional book owners in the United Kingdom, and the 'cornerstone' of its collection is this magnificent library, now held at Blickling Hall, a country house about 15 miles north of Norwich.[2] Apart from a short essay by Giles Mandelbrote and Yvonne Lewis accompanying a 2004 exhibition, this superb library has received comparatively little direct scholarly attention.[3] Its unapproachable nature has made it difficult to study: it is physically remote, access to the books is extremely limited, almost half of the books have only very rudimentary catalogue records (or are completely uncatalogued), and it is difficult to contextualize as it is accompanied by no estate or personal archives. And yet the Ellys library offers fascinating evidence of the collecting behaviour and social circumstances of its owner, and a thorough examination is overdue; as such it offers a chance to reflect on the methods and approaches that historians use to study surviving libraries.

---

[1] The ideas of object life cycles and a biographical approach to objects are discussed in Janet Hoskins, 'Agency, Biography and Objects', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 74–84.

[2] National Trust, 'Books and Libraries Guide' <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/article/books-and-libraries-guide> [accessed 22 April 2022].

[3] Giles Mandelbrote and Yvonne Lewis, *Learning to Collect: The Library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)* (London: National Trust, 2004).

The inherent complexity of this library, as visible in the extant evidence, suggests that Ellys's book buying was not motivated solely by his scholarly interests, or his desire to own rare curiosities of early printing; rather, he bought books for a variety of reasons including both academic and aesthetic considerations. The diversity of his library demonstrates a complicated, dynamic, and heterogeneous purpose behind his collecting behaviour, which warrants a closer examination of the social history of this and other private libraries. I use the term *social history* somewhat loosely here. It is not intended to recollect the New Social History of the mid-twentieth century: the method is not quantitative and it is not aligned with left-wing political thought, or indeed with any political agenda. But a library has a social life and social identity, and its history must be a social history, focusing on the diversity and variety of experiences between books, between libraries, and between collectors, as well as between moments in time. Studying this over the long period of a collected book's life cycle can demonstrate how a library interacted with a collector's personal identity and social networks, and how it can make manifest its social context and circumstances, thus revealing the history of libraries to be inherently a social history.

This introductory chapter will provide an overview of Ellys, and will introduce his library as the source material for this research project. It will then present and critique existing scholarship on libraries and book collecting in the eighteenth century, before proposing a new model for understanding private libraries, for which Ellys's library will here serve as a case study.

Ellys and his library

The library was amassed by Sir Richard Ellys, and was kept primarily at his home in London. He was educated by his father's chaplain Joseph Farrow (1652-92) and studied at Leiden and Utrecht after travelling on the Continent; his tutor, the German philologist Ludolf Kuster (1670-1716) thought him the finest Greek scholar in Europe.[4] In 1727 Ellys inherited his father's baronetcy (conferred on Ellys's grandfather at the Restoration) and estate at Nocton,

[4] Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 219-21; Mandelbrote and Lewis, p. 10.

and served as Whig MP for Grantham from 1701-1705, and for Boston from 1719-1734.[5] A staunchly religious man, he was a member of Edmund Calamy's Presbyterian church in Westminster, near to where Ellys made his home in Bolton Street, Piccadilly. His reputation was fierce: when the minister Samuel Say (1676-1743) took over the ministry of the Dissenting congregation at Westminster of which Ellys was a prominent member and main financial supporter, Say wrote of his anxiety over meeting this formidable and uncompromising man, described to Say as 'a gentleman of Learning and Piety. His learning mostly in the classical and critical way' who 'greatly affects the books of the old Puritans'.[6] (Ellys was not pleased with Say, for reasons that are not clear, and for a time withdrew his financial backing from the church, leaving Say without the income he had been promised.)

In 1727 Ellys published his first and only book, a study of cymbals in the New Testament called *Fortuita Sacra quibus subjicitur commentarius de cymbalis*.[7] Although he never published anything else, Ellys had a reputation for scholarship and learning (despite Horace Walpole's swipe that he 'pretended to learning on the credit of a very expensive library').[8] The antiquarian John Horsley (1685/6-1732) in 1732 dedicated his magnum opus *Britannia Romana: or the Roman antiquities of Britain* to Ellys,[9] and his dedication aptly illustrates Ellys's public persona of erudition and his well-established reputation in learned circles:

> Notwithstanding your industrious concealment of your uncommon knowledge and abilities, they could not pass unobserved by the ablest of judges; and all, who have the happiness of your personal acquaintance, are witnesses of a most becoming piety and true virtue.
> The FORTUITA SACRA are a lasting monument (though I hope not the only one you will leave) that the truest concern for religion, and the greatest knowledge of divine things, are not inconsistent with the most accurate acquaintance, and profoundest skill, in all the branches of curious

[5] Paula Watson, 'Ellys, Richard (c.1674-1742), of Nocton, Lincs.', *History of Parliament Online* <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1715-1754/member/ellys-richard-1674-1742> [accessed 22 April 2022].
[6] Letter from W. Harris to Samuel Say, 20 April 1734, printed in B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Letters incidental to Samuel Say's call to Westminster, 1734', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 19 (1960–64), pp. 81–90, 129–37.
[7] Sir Richard Ellys, *Fortuita sacra: quibus subjicitur Commentarius de Cymbalis* (Rotterdam: apud Joannem Hofhout, 1727).
[8] Purcell, *The Country House Library*, p. 101.
[9] John Horsley, *Britannia Romana: Or the Roman Antiquities of Britain: In Three Books* (London: printed for John Osborn and Thomas Longman, 1732).; Haycock, David Boyd, 'Horsley, John (1685/6–1732), Natural Philosopher and Antiquary', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13819>.

> and polite learning. …[I wish] that in a degenerate and corrupt age you may long adorn, and protect the cause and interests of piety, liberty and virtue.

Much of his reputation was built upon his success as a prolific book collector, and he managed to develop an impressive collection of many thousands of books and manuscripts. Upon his death in 1742, his property and estate at Nocton Hall passed to his second wife Sarah, with the exception of his books. Instead, his large private library went to his second cousin, Sir John Hobart, the second earl of Buckinghamshire, and was transported to Hobart's home at Blickling Hall in Norfolk. This is tremendously fortunate, as a fire at Nocton in the 1830s that destroyed the family archive might otherwise have also swallowed the books.

At Blickling the books were placed in the Long Gallery, which was converted into an impressive library room, and there they have remained. Blickling has been owned by the National Trust since 1940; indeed, it was one of the first properties acquired by the Trust.[10] The house now contains approximately 12,000 books, which constitute the majority of Ellys's collection as the library remained largely unmolested over the centuries. The exception to this was a large sale in 1932, just before Philip Kerr, the 11th Marquis of Lothian and the final private owner of Blickling Hall, gave over the house to the Trust. This depleted the library of some of its finest treasures; notable among those that were sold are the Blickling Psalter, an eighth-century Latin Psalter with Old English glosses, which now resides at the Morgan Library in New York City (MS M.776), as well as the Blickling Homilies, a ninth-century collection of homilies in Old English, now MS 71at the Scheide Library at Princeton.[11]

Despite such losses, the shelves at Blickling retain the vast majority of Ellys's collection. The books reveal his interests as a book buyer, and demonstrate the diversity of his collecting priorities. The areas of Law, Classics, and History are well represented, and there is a sizable collection of political tracts and pamphlets. There are clearly books Ellys used in his

[10] 'Our History: 1884-1945', National Trust <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/what-we-do/who-we-are/our-history%20> [accessed 2 August 2018].
[11] American Art Association, *Illuminated Manuscripts, Incunabula and Americana from the Famous Libraries of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian ...* (New York: American art association, Anderson Galleries Inc., 1932); '[Blickling Homilies]' (England, 1100), Princeton, William H. Scheide Library, MS 30.2; '[Blickling Psalter]' (Northern Northumbria, 730), New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS 776.

professional capacity as an MP or in his semi-professional capacity as a biblical scholar. The largest category is of books relating to theology, New Testaments in particular: no surprise given that this was the field of Ellys's own academic interests. But while primarily intended for scholarly use, the library additionally contains a large contingent of rare and appealing treasures, including numerous incunabula, illustrated editions, and books associated with illustrious former owners, as well as some fine medieval manuscripts. Despite the 1932 sale, many of these works remain *in situ* at Blickling Hall. Importantly, Ellys also owned a significant number of catalogues of auctions, sales, and other private collections, along with several lists of rare books, which is 'a sure sign of a serious interest in books' and demonstrates an understanding of and interest in the world of book collecting.[12]

In addition, the library contains a wide variety of books on more unusual topics, which can also reveal something of Ellys's personal tastes. One remarkable area of the collection is devoted to the history of printing and its connection to the spread of Protestantism, especially abroad both on the Continent and in the New World. Among his books, for example, are an early Bible printed in 'the Indian language' in North America known as the Eliot Bible, and numerous volumes from famed early printers on the Continent such as the Estienne and Aldine presses.[13] The library also contains a large number of works on medicine, natural sciences, anatomy, and zoology – somewhat surprising given that these subjects were far from Ellys's specialty. Ample evidence also suggests that other scholars and acquaintances made use of this collection, and it is possible that Ellys's associates' interests guided his collecting – for example, the large number of books relating to medicine and anatomy, uncommonly plentiful for a gentleman's library of the time, may have been acquired to meet the needs of his large proportion of medically-inclined acquaintances. One such may have been his friend William Stukeley (1687-175), the antiquarian, natural philosopher, and physician, who was a member of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and had close relationships with Sir Hans Sloane and Sir Isaac Newton.[14]

[12] Mandelbrote and Lewis, p. 6.
[13] John Eliot, tran., *The Holy Bible : Containing the Old Testament and the New...* (Cambridge, MA: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663).
[14] David Boyd Haycock, 'Stukeley, William (1687–1765), Antiquary and Natural Philosopher', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26743>.

One cannot create and organize a library of this scale alone, and fortunately it is possible to say something about Ellys's most prominent collaborator in the development of his library: his librarian, John Mitchell (1685-1751). Mitchell's role and work in the library prove revealing about early modern book collecting and library management. Although a physician by training (there being no formal training in librarianship at the time), Mitchell was employed by Ellys from 1731 onwards as his librarian.[15] Mitchell was not new to bibliophile circles when he arrived in Ellys's employment. His letters to his friend Charles Mackie, professor of history at the University of Edinburgh, show that from as early as 1717 he was engaged in travel at home and on the Continent, searching out and buying books for various clients (unfortunately none are named in the extant correspondence). Indeed he acted as an agent for Mackie, attending sales and reading catalogues to identify newly-published or newly-available books that he thought Mackie might wish to purchase. His letters also reveal that he travelled the Continent performing these duties for others, too. He frequently visited the libraries of famous and wealthy collectors on his travels, and wrote to Mackie describing them and the general state of 'Belles Lettres'.[16] Mitchell was well-connected in the world of books, and from 1735 was a member in his own right of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, a learned society with strong bibliophile tendencies, which Ellys joined sometime in the late 1720s or early 1730s.[17] The Spalding Society was founded in 1710 by the antiquarian Maurice Johnson (1688-1755), who wished to recreate the exciting coffeehouse culture of London in his provincial hometown of Spalding. The Society expanded steadily, with members contributing books to the library, presenting papers on natural history, and writing letters detailing antiquarian discoveries. Other members of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society included William Stukeley, Alexander Pope, and Sir Isaac Newton.

---

[15] P. S. Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume 2: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 212-287 (pp. 212-3); John Mitchell, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 26 November, 1730', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.27; 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 25 March, 1731', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.28.

[16] 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 2 December, 1721', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.9; 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 2 April, 1722', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.10.

[17] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Minute-Books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1712-1755* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Mitchell's work, as well as the mere fact of employing a librarian, highlights how the library demonstrates a changing world, with specialized skills now necessary to engage with the emergence of what Alistair Black has called the 'information society' or the 'knowledge society'. During the Enlightenment, information increasingly became seen as an entity rather than a process. Once knowledge was 'reified and commodified' and information was 'converted into a "thing"', men of the newly-emerged middle class began to specialize professionally in this quantifiable resource.[18] Mitchell's work represents the professionalization of the book world, as respectable, semi-professional librarians joined the ranks of the professional booksellers and binders in supporting such massive private library collections and laying the foundations for modern bibliographic research and librarianship.[19] While Mitchell was nowhere near as wealthy as Ellys, he was better educated and had an interest in and knowledge of books to equal or surpass his employer. While working for Ellys, Mitchell played an important role in the procurement of books for the library, liaising with agents at sales and with booksellers on Ellys's behalf.[20] Mandelbrote and Lewis describe the library as Ellys and Mitchell's 'joint achievement',[21] and although it is not certain to what extent Mitchell was involved in selection decisions, it is certainly the case that almost all of the remaining evidence regarding Ellys's behaviour and attitudes towards his books is mediated through Mitchell's work. Where the latter's input is most evident to us now is in the organization of these incoming books. His distinctive cramped handwriting is found all over the Ellys collection: far more than Ellys's own, which appears in only a handful of his books. He wrote (to a greater or lesser extent) in most of the books, and was heavily involved in producing the library catalogue. The books themselves (including their notes and annotations) and the catalogue are the two biggest pieces of evidence available for understanding Mitchell's role in the library, and indeed the development of the library itself.

The catalogue that he produced thankfully accompanied the library to Blickling after Ellys's death. It lists (nearly) every book in the collection, providing details of author, title, publication, and format or size. Mitchell was able to devise and implement an advanced and

[18] Alistair Black, 'Information and Modernity: The History of Information and the Eclipse of Library History' *Library History*, 14 (May 1998), 39-45 (p. 41).
[19] Mandelbrote and Lewis , p. 9.
[20] See for example John Mitchell, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 17 May, 1732', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.33; 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 16 December, 1738', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.34.
[21] p. 26.

customized system to organize Ellys's collection, and oversaw a team of assistants; the catalogue was organized and written primarily by Mitchell, but contains a number of other hands as well. It is very much a working copy, and was continually updated to accurately reflect the contents of the library. The catalogue was extensively interfered with in the nineteenth century, with the records cut apart into smaller slips and pasted into album volumes. Nevertheless, it is still an invaluable resource in the study of Ellys's library, especially given that the modern catalogue now being compiled by the National Trust remains incomplete. Mitchell's cataloguing work was not confined to supervising the production of this catalogue: he also maintained what Mandelbrote and Lewis have identified as a second catalogue.[22] The second catalogue is found in ten thick volumes and is mainly written in an unknown hand, the works included dating mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To this Mitchell added entries for authors absent from the original list on the facing rectos, and added works under authors already present in the original hand in what may have been an attempt at creating a universal bibliography. The contents of this book list do not accurately reflect the contents of the library, and instead it seems to represent an academic project rather than the practical functionality of the slip catalogue, which listed the books of Ellys's library. These two catalogues (especially the slip catalogue) are the main documentary sources available for studying the library. Other records are relatively scarce, though not entirely lacking. In addition, I have examined what few notes and letters are interleaved in the books, and the inscriptions in the books themselves. The research did not involve, and could not have involved, the close examination of every book. This was inevitable, due to the scale of the library, but was exacerbated by the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. Travel restrictions and lockdowns prevented research trips to Blickling, and the Blickling estate closure and staff furlough meant the Blickling librarian was unavailable for correspondence and his work cataloguing the library was stalled. To remedy this, a balance had to be found between discovering general patterns and scrutinizing illustrative examples.

Beyond the library, archival sources relating to the estate can be found in the Norfolk Record Office, although these of course only pertain to the library after its arrival in Norfolk after Ellys's death. The Dashwood collection at the Bodleian Library has some few papers relating to Blickling and the books, which must presumably have been mixed up in the family's papers when Ellys's second wife married Sir Francis Dashwood – the pair lived at Nocton

[22] pp. 22-3.

Hall until 1766. A collection of letters between John Mitchell and Charles Mackie are to be found at Edinburgh University Library, all of which date from before Mitchell's tenure with Ellys. While these sources are all invaluable, and are made more so by their small numbers, almost none relate directly to the library or even to Ellys himself. There is thus an enforced distance between the researcher and the subject, which the present focus on tangible evidence of behaviour seeks to overcome. It is this (admittedly imperfect and incomplete) surviving evidence, alongside the library itself, that makes it possible to contribute to scholarly debates around the history of private libraries and book collecting.

Background

It is widely accepted that book collecting as a cultural phenomenon in Britain began following the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century and the subsequent dispersal of their collections (at least, those that weren't destroyed).[23] In the absence of a national collection, individual antiquarians such as Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575) and Robert Cotton (1570-1631) attempted to acquire and guard old and unusual volumes otherwise at risk of loss. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century private libraries were also the domain of scholars, whose priority was the acquisition of knowledge rather than the preservation of history; the contents of their libraries reflected this, focusing on the traditional topics of the medieval schools.[24] The traditional model of scholarly collecting was encapsulated by Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653) in his 1627 *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* which John Evelyn translated into English in 1661.[25] Naudé's work had a profound influence on the development of scholarly libraries, and he was well respected as the librarian of the library of cardinal Mazarin. Naudé posited three requirements for libraries: first, that the

[23] James P. Carley, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Salvaging of the Spoils', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume 1: To 1640.*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 265–91 (pp. 340ff.)
[24] Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', p. 219.
[25] Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library: Presented to My Lord the President de Mesme by Gabriel Naudeus ; and Now Interpreted by Jo. Evelyn, Esquire.* (London: Printed for G Bedle, and T Collins, at the Middle-Temple gate, and J Crook in St Pauls Church-yard, 1661).

contents should be encyclopedic and comprehensive; second, that a library should be available for the use of all who wished for access; and third, that the rare and the curious were unnecessary distractions. In other words, books were worth owning because they were tools for knowledge and study, and books whose information was outdated, superseded, or unnecessarily ornamented were not worth bothering with.[26]

Historians have detected a new mode of book collecting from the late seventeenth century, embodied by such collectors as Samuel Pepys, Thomas Herbert, Sir Hans Sloane, and Richard Mead.[27] These collectors fit with what Jean Viardot describes as a new bibliophile orientation that emerged around the turn of the eighteenth century, as rapid advances in scientific disciplines created an obvious divide between old and newly-published books.[28] While previously buyers had been concerned mainly with a book's utility, now some book buyers, fascinated by the rare, the antique and the expensive, took great pains to distinguish themselves by their ability to find such exclusive items and to develop large specialist libraries of antique volumes. It is clear, when looking at library owners around the turn of the eighteenth century, that we must consider library formation as a more complex behaviour than simply buying books on a predetermined set of topics. It is necessary to take a more sophisticated view of what book collecting meant, and the multiple possible goals, interests, and purposes behind it. This period marks the emergence of book collecting as more than just a method of accessing and preserving information but as an example of the complex anthropological phenomenon of collecting. A major motivator behind this new style of book collecting seems to have been a desire to own and consume objects. Russell W. Belk argues that collecting should be understood as a type of material consumption: 'collecting is consumption writ large'.[29] No longer solely intended for reading and learning, researchers like Kristian Jensen have argued that rare and antiquated books underwent an economic reassessment and became expensive consumables in a market of their own, very much in line with Belk's view of collecting as the large-scale consumption of desirable objects. While their intellectual usefulness was diminished, their economic and social utility rose. This

[26] Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: chez Francois Targa, 1627) ; see also Jean Viardot, 'Naissance de la bibliophilie: les cabinets de livres rares', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises tome II: les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530-1789*, ed. by Claude Jolly (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 269-289 (p. 270).
[27] See, for example, Mandelbrote and Lewis, pp. 17-18.
[28] 'Naissance de la bibliophilie', p. 269.
[29] Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

parallels the coeval craze for gathering oddities into cabinets of curiosities, in which collectors assembled large collections of exotic specimens to display.[30] The academic value of these books was reevaluated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as they became what Kristian Jensen calls a 'marketable category', which created a (somewhat artificial) monetary value far exceeding their economic worth in earlier periods.[31]

In 1743, the Prologue to Volume II of the Harley catalogue (produced by Samuel Johnson and William Oldys for a sale held by the bookseller Thomas Osborne) is evidence for Jensen's position, positing that:

> The Price of Things valuable for their Rarity is intirely arbitrary, and depends upon the variable Taste of Mankind, and the casual Fluctuation of the Fashion, and can never be ascertained, like that of Things only estimable according to their Use.[32]

This interpolation of economics and status-driven consumption into the domain of academic learning led to wide concern and indignation. For example, *The Tatler*'s satirical figure of Tom Folio, based on the collector Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725), has more books than brains and becomes a figure of fun in his relentless pursuit of unusual books for his and his clients' collections.[33] These changes in social and economic circumstances, with books being at once commercial items and expensive luxuries, led to worries in the arena of morality. Economic changes led to cheaper paper, and technological advances in printing made books less expensive to produce, and it was possible for more people to build a huge collection of books. At the same time, growing literacy and leisure time along with increasing book production meant that books were more available to more people, rather than the preserve of the elite as they had been previously. There was widespread unease in Britain over moral decline resulting from a life of extravagance and material consumption, and reading material became a critical ground in the consequent anxiety and tension over declining traditional

---

[30] See, for example, Maria Zytaruk, 'Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 80.1 (2011), 1–23 <https://doi.org/10.1353/utq.2011.0003>.
[31] Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book Trade : Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 106.
[32] Samuel Johnson and William Oldys, *Catalogus bibliothecæ Harleianæ : in locos communes distributus cum indice auctorum* (London: Apud Thomas Osborne, [1743]), f. a2.
[33] Joseph Addison, 'Tom Folio', *The Tatler*, 158 (1710), pp. 150–53.

authority and the moral decay threatened by a life of luxury.[34] James Raven remarks on the 'recurrent theme' of 'tension…between commercialization and exclusivity' in attitudes to book ownership and collecting,[35] which is still seen today in the antiquarian book market and its disharmonious priorities of history and commercialism.

While Belk's simple definition of collecting as material consumption is a useful starting point, collecting is not always the same as straightforward unfettered consumption. Swann offers a more nuanced definition, describing collecting as an *order* of consumption 'characterized by the selection, gathering together, and setting aside of a group of objects'.[36] Swann's definition lends itself well to books, taking note as it does of the curation and procurement of a particular type of object. The 'setting aside' is crucial, as by their nature collected items must be kept and preserved, and it suggests a distinct register of possessions based on their shared characteristics and separate from the realm of the everyday. Swann's definition also makes room for different purposes behind collecting. One scholarly view sees this period of the early eighteenth century as witnessing a profound shift in the value of books, arising from the dichotomy between books as, on the one hand, expensive tools for the scholastic elite and, on the other, endangered artefacts to be rescued and preserved. But while it was possible to perpetuate the weightiness associated with a collection intended purely for extracting content through reading, it also became possible to follow different priorities in a collecting habit. An interest in the rare and the curious was common, and books were valued even if not bought for direct use. Personal taste and individual interests overcame tradition as the stimulus behind much book-buying behaviour.[37] As Raven notes, this period saw a

[34] Maxine Berg, 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 173–91.; Istvan Hont, 'The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. by Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 377–418.
[35] James Raven, 'From Promotion to Proscription: Arrangements for Reading and Eighteenth-Century Libraries', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 175-201 (p.179).
[36] Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 6.
[37] Giles Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume 2: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173–89.

'diversity of aspiration, form, and function in the assembly of private libraries'.[38] It is clear that the purpose of a library was reassessed and expanded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Previous work on private library owners has often attempted to categorize types of libraries and owners according to where they fell in the above debates. To do so, however, is to ignore the human behaviours that underlie the development of a library, and therefore does not take full account of the intricate and nuanced nature of a private library. Some scholars have attempted to draw up categories based on the supposed 'seriousness' of the motivation behind a book collector. Studies on the history of libraries make much of the distinction between the haphazard consumption or purchase of books, and the development of a particular collection or library. Mark Purcell differentiates between 'just any group of books' and a library with 'some sort of calculated intention behind it', which he elsewhere describes as a distinction between 'accumulation' and 'collection'.[39] Michael S. Batts contrasts these same two groups with the (unhelpfully similar) terms 'collector of books and 'book collector' – the former simply amass, while the latter have established principles of collecting.[40] For Purcell and Batts, true collections are defined by the intentionality and purpose behind an individual's collecting activities. The problem with this individual-oriented assessment is that nearly three centuries separate modern scholars from the book owners in question; in cases lacking diaries or correspondence detailing their exact motives and interests, any attempt at rendering visible their inner thoughts and intentions would be troublingly speculative. It is worth drawing a parallel with the intentional fallacy argument of Wimsatt and Beardsley[41] – not that the collector's intention is irrelevant, merely that attempts to determine it are doomed to failure if they imagine only a single intention existed.

A different theoretical approach is one based on how an owner uses and values his accumulated books. David Pearson, for instance, distinguishes between a book owner, whose

[38] James Raven, 'Debating Bibliomania and the Collection of Books in the Eighteenth Century', *Library & Information History*, 29.3 (2013), 196–209.
[39] Mark Purcell, 'The Country House Library Reassess'd: Or, Did the "Country House Library" Ever Really Exist', *Library History*, 18.3 (2002), 157–74 (p. 160); *The Country House Library*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 112.
[40] Michael S. Batts, 'The 18th-Century Concept of the Rare Book', *The Book Collector*, 24.3 (1975), 381-400 (p. 381).
[41] W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *The Sewanee Review*, 54.3 (1946), 468–88.

books are bought based on their contents and are preserved in order that they may continue to be used for their original purpose, and a book collector, who symbolically removes books from their realm of usefulness and instead values and desires them qua artefacts.[42] Pearson's definition of a collector parallels Igor Kopyatoff's proposition of singularized objects: those that are normally treated as ordinary things but are 'pulled out of their usual … sphere' to become non-exchangeable and in a sense 'priceless'.[43] Belk also takes this view, arguing that a collected object 'ceases to be a fungible commodity and becomes a singular object' that cannot be exchanged for something of equivalent purpose or economic value.[44] This object-oriented approach is more grounded in physical evidence than the individual-oriented approach, but is also not entirely satisfying. Book buyers must resist categorization as mere owners or true collectors in a way that collectors of most other things do not. There is a very definite element of usefulness to a book in a way that there isn't with a rare stamp or a biological specimen. A book cannot really be pulled out of its sphere of usefulness – while an ancient coin kept in an album and occasionally admired for its beauty and rarity has no use value at all (it is no longer legal tender), even a book that is never read will never lose its ability to be used for its original purpose and a new owner may indeed place it back in the realm of the useable.

Categorizing collectors as being one type or the other is clearly problematic. There is a danger of seeing the whole library through one lens, which doesn't take into account the differences between books in the same collection. Categorization makes the fundamental assumption that a book can mean only one thing to its owner; ignoring the dynamic nature of the relationship between a book and its owner is to impose a misleadingly static notion of a library. Instead, it seems perfectly reasonable to assume a breadth and complexity of motivations behind book collections. It is simplistic to imagine that only a single intention

[42] David Pearson, 'Books for Use and Books for Show' (presented at the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 2018). Pearson has somewhat softened this distinction in the published version of this lecture ('Books for Use and Books For Show', in *Book Ownership in Stuart England: The Lyell Lectures, 2018* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 111-137), although the following chapter ('Cultures of Collecting', pp. 138-164) continues to distinguish between a book owner and a book collector.
[43] Igor Kopyatoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjan Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 64-92 (pp.74-5).
[44] Russell W. Belk, 'Collectors and Collecting', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 534-541 (p.534).

existed behind any library or collection, and it is unreasonable to assume that a modern researcher can accurately understand the psychology of a collector 300-odd years ago. Even the object-oriented approach of Pearson and Belk does not fully take into account the necessarily multifarious and heterogeneous motivations behind a private library. In the end, it is not always useful to modern researchers to impose such clear-cut delineations between different types of book owners.

Ellys's library, because of its heterogeneous and complex nature, represents the defying of these supposed categories. Ellys bought books to read, as can be seen by his occasional notes, books for others to read, as can be seen by *their* occasional notes, books of beauty, as can be seen by the library catalogue's comments on their bindings and appearance, and books of bibliographical significance, as can be seen by Mitchell's notes on the flyleaves. Interestingly, he also collected other items such as Roman coins and medals; these items, as noted above, don't have the same inherent usefulness as a book, and once removed from their intended purpose (when they become 'singularized', in Kopyatoff's view), their value is solely economic, historical and social, rather than useful.[45] Mitchell's catalogue was clearly compiled and amended to facilitate research, but it also shows evidence of an interest in a fine binding or a book of exceptional rarity. Many of the books were read to extract content, but there are a significant sub-set that were used in other ways, as tools of display and self-presentation or as instruments of social networking. Ellys strongly resists categorization as solely a scholar, an artefact collector, or a rich consumer buying commodities, and thus is an excellent candidate for my purposes here.

Method

This thesis posits a model for studying the development of a library that focuses on the evidence of behaviour. This approach manages to avoid the intentional fallacy that is too often present in scholarship on book collecting: the assumption that one can ever understand the purpose and motivations of an historic figure. As D.F. McKenzie argues, in relation to the intentional fallacy in textual criticism, 'the claim then is no longer for their [texts'] truth as

[45] These other collections never came to Blickling Hall and were presumably dispersed by Ellys's heirs or destroyed in the fire at Nocton Hall.

one might seek to define that by an authorial intention, but for their testimony as defined by their historical use'.[46] To extend his argument: it is the left-behind evidence of behaviour that is relevant to the study of a book's history, more than any obscure intention of an author (or indeed a collector). The model developed here encompasses multiple behaviours that can be grouped around four discrete phases in the life cycle of a book – *acquisition*, *integration*, *use*, and *afterlife*. These phases do not refer to artificial stages in the life cycle of a library as a whole as this would be contrived and misleading. Indeed, an entire collection is generally not acquired at a single moment but is accumulated gradually. Instead these processes occur constantly and continuously, for each book separately and simultaneously. This model's emphasis on behaviour manages to incorporate the actions of the collector without making specious assumptions about his thoughts and intentions, and also manages to avoid the static view of a collection that is so often the result of an object-oriented approach. The aim, therefore, is not to determine Ellys's intentions as a collector and the purpose of his library, or to make a determination of his supposed seriousness as a scholar. Instead, the Acquisition-Integration-Use-Afterlife (AIUA) model will reveal the inherent complexities of this library, which complicate previous assessments and categorizations of libraries and collectors, and it will also indicate why a more holistic view is warranted. This multi-disciplinary approach will demonstrate how object life cycles and human behaviours can be examined together to make manifest the social history of a private library. It will allow individual books to be viewed alone, but also as they fit into the collection as a whole; it also makes visible the entire life of a collected book, rather than its function at a single moment in time.

These four stages form distinct categories for dividing up the chronology of a book's life cycle as it relates to its place in the library. *Acquisition* includes the activities of searching and selecting, inheriting, and the receipt of gifts, and involves external players such as sales agents, booksellers, auctioneers, and former owners. *Integration* involves creating and incorporating a unified and meaningful collection out of diverse books of various origins, through such activities as the application of bookplates and ownership marks, and the storage, location, and organization of the books. *Use,* of course, refers to reading but also to lending (a social use to the lender, and an intellectual use to the borrower). It may also include the use of books as furnishings and objects of display. The evidence of use comes from annotations, wear and tear, and records or correspondence. The final phase, *afterlife*, may happen during

[46] D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986).

the original owner's lifetime through selling, giving gifts, or lending books without return, or else after death when books are inherited or sold, and when the cycle begins again with a new acquisition stage for a different collection. Although passing books on to new owners is a subject of great interest to modern scholars, it is paramount to remember that more books have been produced in the five hundred-odd years since the dawn of printing than survive now, and the majority of books that have ever been owned did not survive to the present day. As such, afterlife may also include eventual disposal or loss.[47]

Fundamentally all four processes are social activities, involving relevant external factors and agents, rather than being entirely private and individual. Leslie Howsam describes books as a 'cultural transaction' involving a 'web' of interconnected people,[48] and despite the sense that an eighteenth-century collector's 'passion was regarded as an individual one'[49] books and libraries (like all things) are elements of culture and society and are therefore subject to cultural and social forces. Examining the environment surrounding a collector reveals his social context and allows us to visualize the reach of the library and the individual behind it. Studying the development of a private library reveals how both personal and impersonal relationships played out during all four stages of the collection process, and demonstrates how a library is situated in its immediate context, as well as in broader social and cultural environments; these interpersonal relationships will be examined at each stage.

Logic provides evidence for the existence of these four phases, and for dividing them up according to discrete sets of behaviours. We have an instinctive connection to the four phases of acquisition, integration, use and afterlife. Regarding acquisition, people have an innate desire to own things that they like and to complete the sets that they have, and this desire was particularly prominent in the context of the early modern period.[50] We imbue acquisition decisions with personal significance. As observers, we have a strong tendency to infer a person's identity and personality from their acquisition activities, and to make assumptions

[47] Leslie Howsam, 'The Study of Book History', in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 1-14 (p. 5).
[48] ibid., pp. 1 and 4.
[49] James Raven, 'Debating Bibliomania', p. 196.
[50] Catherine Carey, 'Modeling Collecting Behavior: The Role of Set Completion', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 29.3 (2008), 336–47 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2007.08.002>. See also Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983).

based on people's possessions (similarly, we use our own possessions to build an externally visible persona).[51] Meaning is metonymically placed upon an object because of its closeness to an admirable person, and books formerly owned by famous collectors or well-known historical figures are overwhelmingly desirable and fetch high prices. The acquisition process and selection decisions may have been heavily influenced by friends and household members, as a collector's closest personal relationships. Auction agents, too, were an integral part of the activity of acquisition, as were auctioneers and other booksellers. Even former owners, whether known personally to the collector or not, were involved in the process of acquisition by making books available for sale or by giving them as gifts.

In terms of integration, there is an inherent difference between referring to a group of books and referring to a library. The mystique attached to a unified whole or a collection is not present in relation to a group of separate objects, and is evidence that the process of integration is a significant one. The integration process may have involved the work of a personal librarian or assistant of some kind (like Mitchell) in producing a catalogue or in organizing the books into categories for the collector's use. In addition, a binder or decorator's work could serve to integrate the various books by creating a uniform look on the shelves.

The differentiation between a library and a closed-off repository is evidence of the significance of decisions made during the use phase. Whether or not books are read, exhibited, or otherwise used does not depend on how they were acquired or integrated but is a separate third dimension. Uses of a library ranged from the collector's private reading in his library room to the involvement of friends and other acquaintances in a more socially complex type of use. Allowing external access to their private libraries was fairly common for serious book collectors of the period.[52] A well-known example is Sir Hans Sloane, who wrote of his collections being open to the public and insisted that preservation for the public good was the primary motivation behind his collection of manuscripts and other curiosities. Although, in fact, his manuscripts appear to have been little used during his lifetime, Sloane was committed to the Baconian ideal of scholarly collaboration and strongly supported the

[51] See, for instance, Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Collecting Cultures (London: Routledge, 1999); Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*.
[52] Mark Purcell, 'The Country House Library Reassess'd' (pp.160-1).

attempt to produce a union catalogue of manuscripts in English libraries to facilitate their use by interested researchers.[53] Louis B. Wright cites the earlier example of Thomas Bodley as another collector who was well aware of the value of his books to others around him, as evidenced in his determination to keep his library accessible to all even after his death.[54] While it is tempting to ascribe this behaviour to purely altruistic motivations, we ought not to assume that a collector's motivation was simply to benefit the public. Libraries like these existed in the territory between public and private and it is useful to think of those who were granted access as guests, invited to make privileged use of the books.

In a way afterlife may be the most emotionally charged phase of the four-phase model, as the books come to stand in for the elapsed life of the collector. There are several modes of afterlife. The first involves the dissolution or donation of the collection and the re-entry of the books (either as separate individuals or still a coherent collection) into the Acquisition phase, as happens when a collection is broken up and sold or else donated wholescale to an institutional library. This mode of afterlife may involve many of the same people as Acquisition such as auctioneers and booksellers, heirs, and the recipients of gifts. There is often a strong desire to see a collection kept together, and scholars generally refer with regret to large collections that have been split up and subsequently dispersed over the world.[55] And yet it is this breaking up that allows individual books to remain useful: institutions and owners spend vast amounts on conservation to ensure the books can continue to be used.[56] The second mode of afterlife involves the metamorphosis of the collection into an historical artefact. In the case of the Ellys collection, for instance, the library's afterlife has been spent partially in the care of a charitable institution (the National Trust), the stated aim of which involves preserving the nation's heritage for the public and allowing visitors.[57] While the books are never 'used', in the sense of being consulted or even displayed (displays of the

[53] Arnold Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*, ed. by Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor, and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 190-207 (pp.191 and 200).
[54] Louis B. Wright, 'The Book Collector as Public Benefactor', in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), pp. 3-23 (pp.10-12).
[55] For example in Mandelbrote and Lewis.
[56] While working in the Blickling library, I heard many visitors express sadness that no one read these books anymore (and subsequent delight upon seeing me!).
[57] 'Strategy', *National Trust* <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/strategy> [accessed 2 August 2019].

books are very infrequent, and usually feature the same handful of items), they nevertheless gain a new value as heritage objects; they are artefacts from the past, fossilized historical witnesses.

Most research on modern collectors and collections in the field has taken an ethnographic approach, which is obviously not available when studying historic collections. A large archive of personal papers or diaries detailing decisions across all four stages of acquisition, integration, use and afterlife would almost enable an ethnographic analysis, but that is an uncommon luxury in this field. Unlike John Evelyn, whose diary records many of his thoughts relating to his library, and the collector Edward Harley, whose librarian Humfrey Wanley kept a detailed diary that is invaluable in the study of book collecting in the early eighteenth century, most personal archives are not so forthcoming.[58] Ellys's library is an extreme case, since the lack of archive and personal papers is virtually complete. Although frustrating, this also provides an opportunity to study the collection as it is today, without the distraction of extra interpretation. It is not uncommon for collections to survive without accompanying archival penumbra, and this allows us to focus on the collection *per se* through tangible evidence of actual behaviour rather than a necessarily biased view of the collector. The AIUA model might therefore be described as an ethnography of objects. Like an archaeologist studying the material culture of an extinct civilization, the AIUA model attempts to use only the concrete and tangible evidence of behaviour, and strives to avoid anachronistically assigning personal traits to a long-dead collector. The only thing we know for sure about any collectors of the period is that they performed the behaviour of collecting, and by studying the surviving evidence of that behaviour we can draw conclusions about the social history of libraries, while keeping the library as the central character. The AIUA model allows us to examine the social life of individual books, and of Ellys's library as a whole, in a coherent, logical way given the scant archival evidence and the lack of any personal papers.

The AIUA model, therefore, is intended as a useful tool with which to approach the study of a private library collection. The focus is not on the individual's invisible intentions but on the visible behaviours that connect the collector to his books and to social circumstances. This model is a way to comfortably and accurately produce a picture of the object life cycle for the

[58] Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, ed. by C.E. Wright and Ransom C. Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966).

books in a private library collection. It takes into account that a single collected item (i.e. a book) is not a static thing in relation to the collector and the collection, but instead goes through four phases in its object life cycle, which can be distinguished by the associated human behaviours. By taking the notion of the object life cycle from material culture studies, and connecting this to evidence of human behaviour, this project will uncover and examine the social history of this private library. In addition, I will demonstrate how the AIUA model provides researchers with a logical way of examining collections in the absence of any extant documentation about the collector's motivations and activities. Ellys's library will function as a case study in order to establish the validity of the AIUA object life cycle / human behaviour approach, and will therefore shed light on private libraries in general. Ellys is a good candidate for this approach, because his library has received limited scholarly attention, and because it has a complex and multifaceted nature that makes it well-suited to a thorough and comprehensive study.

This thesis will open up a space for behaviour-based social history in established scholarship on book owners and libraries in the eighteenth century. Incorporating approaches from the history of the book, as well as from anthropology and material culture studies, will allow a holistic view of the library and will make manifest its social, cultural, economic, material, literary, political, bibliographical, scientific, and linguistic contexts. Through this interdisciplinary lens, the social history of this library will be examined as it embodies the issues of its age, such as the construction and portrayal of identity and the demonstration of social status and taste. Each chapter will focus on one of the four stages and will examine Ellys and Mitchell's behaviour, in order to produce a nuanced and dynamic view of the library by assuming and allowing for a complexity of purpose behind the collection. Chapter two, Acquisition, will discuss how Ellys browsed available books and chose which to add to his collection, noting the variety of motivations behind his collecting behaviour. It will also explore the social context and interpersonal relationships involved in the acquisition of books for the library. Chapter three, Integration, will provide a detailed overview of the system of organization employed in the library, specifically in Mitchell's catalogue, and will examine how integration activities reflected Ellys's own interests and priorities. Chapter Four, Use, will look at the diverse ways the books were used, from sources of information to tools of social interaction and the demonstration of social status. It will also describe the ways in which the library continued to be used after Ellys's death by the family at Blickling Hall, and the continuation of many of the these same use activities. The final chapter, Afterlife, will

outline the larges auction in New York that dispersed some of Ellys's greatest treasures to the United States, and will discuss the library's more recent history under the care of the National Trust. It will explore the issues inherent in this significant library collection being held in a museum environment by a conservation charity, and will uncover the benefits and drawbacks to this arrangement. The chapter will end by presenting a conclusion to the thesis, revealing overarching themes to the history of this library and describing the advantages of the AIUA model in the study of library history.

By proposing a method to study a private library in the absence of an archive, by questioning how this library fits with established work on book owners of the period, and by demonstrating how this library is representative of its period and embodies the social history of its age, this thesis will begin to argue for a social history of private libraries and suggest a method for its study.

Chapter Two: Acquisition

The acquisition process is, perhaps, the phase that encompasses the broadest range of behaviours. The near-total lack of documentation around Ellys's acquisition activities means that researchers cannot here rely on the types of evidence often adduced by scholars of library history. There is no correspondence in his hand, and what little there is in Mitchell's hand makes no mention of purchases, topics of interest, or desiderata. If either Ellys or Mitchell wrote such information in a diary, it no longer exists. Booksellers' bills or lists of purchases, if they were kept, have long since vanished into the ether of history. Some things, such as the specific amounts Ellys paid for his books, just cannot be discerned. Many of the books have prices written on endpapers or pastedowns, but it is impossible to tell if these are related to Ellys's purchase or to a previous transaction. Certainly, Ellys or Mitchell did not systematically inscribe in books the price paid, as some other collectors of the period did. If it was written down elsewhere, the information is now long gone. Nor did they note the date a book was purchased, which was also not uncommon for eighteenth-century buyers. However, details in the books themselves offer sporadic evidence of Ellys's acquisition activities; for example, the propensity of other buyers to write purchase dates in books can occasionally provide clues as to Ellys's date of purchase. For example, *De Bello Iudaico* by Flavius Josephus has the inscription 'Naples Ap: 25 1726. 4 ducates – 15s 4d' on the flyleaf[1]. This is in an unidentified hand and must refer to a previous transaction, but at least makes it clear that Ellys acquired the book after April 1726. Similarly, *Remaines of a greater worke* has the inscription 'Sept. 3. 1720 Collat. & perfect', which likewise points to this book arriving in Ellys's library sometime after that date.[2] Some purchases can be dated based on a known sale or auction that brought a book into his possession, such as *Fragmenta historicorum collecta ab Antonio Augustino, emendata à Fuluio Vrsino* with the inscription 'J Bridges', which was presumably bought from the sale of the library of John Bridges in 1726.[3] Typically, however, it is impossible to determine a date of purchase for Ellys's books, which makes it nearly impossible to draw any meaningful conclusions about how Ellys's book-buying habits may

[1] Flavius Josephus, *De Bello Iudaico* (Verona: per Magistrum Petru[m] Maufer Gallicum, 1480).
[2] William Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke* (London: Printed by G[eorge] E[ld] for Simon Waterson, 1605).
[3] Antonio Agustín and Fulvio Orsini, *Fragmenta Historicorum Collecta* (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam, & Ioannem Moretum., 1595).

have changed over the course of his life. Another area of selection behaviour that is frustratingly murky arises when we consider that some books in the collection were not specifically selected. Some, if not many, of Ellys's books may have arrived as part of an auction lot attached to something more desirable. It is not clear which these are, or indeed if these unchosen books may have been resold or given away.

This would seem to leave us with a very sketchy picture of the acquisition landscape, and suggests a very short chapter in which to discuss it. And yet this murkiness is also an opportunity to think creatively about the process of acquiring books for a library, what specific behaviours are involved in that process, and what those behaviours indicate about Ellys, his library, and his social context. Broadly, acquisition behaviours are those that are undertaken with the purpose of physically bringing a book into the library. This often begins with browsing available items, whether by trawling bookshops, scanning book sale and auction catalogues, and even by attending to word of mouth. Looking at browsing behaviour casts light on a collector's attitude towards information and potential purchases, and suggests his view of his position in the book-buying field. Closely associated with browsing is selecting, which involves choosing which topics or individual books to target and seeking them out from a former owner, seller, or printer. While Susan M. Pearce seems to over-emphasize the importance of selection (ignoring the long years of ownership after an initial acquisition) when she insists that it 'lies at the heart of collecting',[4] it is certain that selection decisions are an important behaviour in the acquisition process. Examining selection behaviour can reveal a collector's interests and priorities for a library. Both browsing and selecting necessitate a degree of relevant know-how on the part of the collector: to stay on top of relevant catalogues, to identify gaps in the library, and to find the specific items to fill them.

Books can be procured actively or passively, and the most common means of active acquisition is through purchasing. This involves financial behaviours such as budgeting and the deployment of capital, which can give a strong indication of how much a given book was valued and how strongly it was desired. As a transaction, purchasing involves interactions with other parties such as book sellers, auctioneers, former owners, writers, and buying

[4] Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Collecting Cultures (London: Routledge, 1999); Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 23.

agents. This gives us a glimpse of a collector's network of professionals, and the relationships he cultivated. Subscribing to works, while not the same as purchasing, is another way that books could be acquired during this period. Like purchasing, this is a purposeful behaviour that can indicate a collector's intention for the contents of his library and the financial capital invested in it. Purchasing and subscribing, then, are both active acquisition behaviours. Passive acquisition behaviours, on the other hand, are those that do not involve an element of intentionally exchanging financial capital for material capital. Passive acquisitions may include books received as gifts or loans or through exchange: all behaviours involving social capital and the formalizing of social bonds. This also includes acquisition through inheritance, another codified social behaviour. Passive acquisition, whether or not it involves purposeful behaviour to acquire a book, is inherently social and externally-focused. Close scrutiny will demonstrate that acquisition is a process, involving multiple parallel and interconnected behaviours. The evidence presented makes visible both similarities and variations between books within the library during their acquisition phase. This will complicate our existing notions of 'types' of collectors and will demonstrate the value of examining acquisition activities together, as a discrete stage in the life cycle of a collected book.

Studying the range of acquisition activities together (as a discrete type of behaviour) makes visible the patterns and variations between books within Ellys's library. I will argue that there were a variety of purposes and outcomes behind his acquisition behaviour including the accumulation and mastery of information, an interest in owning rare and unique artefacts, and the desire to portray a persona of taste, intellect, and social and financial capital. All of these behaviours involve the use of various forms of capital and the engagement with other people in various roles, and the chapter will examine and discuss these throughout.

Browsing

Ellys made a concerted effort to stay on top of emerging books and information. His browsing behaviour confirms that he did not desire a library composed only of antique items of historical interest, but a collection that covered recent discoveries and contemporary

debates. He subscribed to many periodicals, among them the newly-emerged type of reviewing and abstracting journals produced to keep buyers abreast of new publications.[5] The library contains, for instance, a near-complete run of the *New Memoirs of Literature*, which was published quarterly from 1725-27 and translated Continental literary news and reviews as well as printing advertisements for subscription to soon-to-be-published books.[6]
The library also holds many publishers' catalogues, frequently found bound at the end of books, announcing what titles were soon to be available for purchase from the same publisher. The margins of these journals and catalogues are sometimes annotated with small pencil dashes, presumably indicating an item of interest. When these annotations are found in books published during Ellys's lifetime that show no signs of a former owner, it suggests that Ellys or Mitchell added them and that they refer to desiderata for the Ellys library. These book lists suggest that Ellys, like other scholars of his day, had a broader social preoccupation with the increasing amount of information available. In trawling and marking these lists, Ellys looked to resources curated and compiled by professionals as an authority on not just what was available but what was worth investing in, in an attempt to guide his selection behaviour.

More evidence of Ellys's browsing behaviour can be found in the several catalogues of sales and auctions that took place during his lifetime and that are now found in the Blickling library. Several that are listed in Mitchell's handwritten catalogue are now no longer on the shelves, but even so the number is not great. This is not unexpected, as it is reasonable to suppose that Ellys did not regularly have them bound and saved after the sale took place. Instead it seems he treated them as ephemera to be discarded when no longer useful or needed. Despite being few in number, what catalogues do remain in the library demonstrate an aspect of Ellys's browsing behaviour. He strove to stay abreast of and engaged with the field of book buying, ensuring he knew what was available and making the most of opportunities for acquiring items of interest. While the evidence is scant of Ellys browsing opportunistically, there is ample evidence that he used catalogues and other book lists to

[5] David McKitterick, 'Bibliography, Bibliophily, and the Organization of Knowledge', in *The Foundations of Scholarship: Libraries & Collecting, 1650-1750: Papers Presented at a Clark Library Seminar 9 March 1985* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1992), pp. 31–61 (p. 42).
[6] De la Roche, Michel, ed., *New Memoirs of Literature: Containing an Account of New Books Printed Both at Home and Abroad, with Dissertations upon Several Subjects, Miscellaneous Observations. &c.* (London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, 1725-27).

browse generally. He owned a large number of catalogues and book lists dating from before he was born or when he was very young. Some of these, such as the 1701 Catalogue of the sale of Joanne de Witt, are annotated carefully with prices in the margins.[7] While Ellys may have participated in this sale when he was nineteen, it is equally possible that he acquired the catalogue sometime after the sale was completed. The presence of prices is revealing: they may suggest an interest in the commercial side of book buying and a curiosity about values, or that Ellys intentionally sought a catalogue of this particular sale and the only one available had been previously marked up by a prior owner. The former possibility would indicate a high level of commercial awareness, while the latter indicates a strong desire for any copy of the catalogue, even this sullied one. Evidence points, then, to the purposeful acquisition of outdated sale catalogues.

The library also contains a large number of catalogues and lists of books that were not associated with a sale or auction. Along with many others, Ellys owned the 1678 *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanae,*[8] the catalogue of the famous French collector Jacques August de Thou (1553-1617); the *Catalogus librorum bibliothecæ Raphaelis Tricheti Du Fresne* of 1662,[9] which listed the contents of the library of Raphael Trichet du Fresne (1611-1661); and the *Bibliothecæ Cordesianæ catalogus*, compiled by Gabriel Naude (1600-1653) in 1643.[10] This demonstrates that Ellys was well aware of the important role of libraries and collections in acquiring and managing information, and he sought to learn about their activities. Ellys evidently admired the authority of other collectors, and owning catalogues of their collections may have allowed him to align himself with a dynasty of collectors of previous generations. He may have used these catalogues to model his library after the collections of illustrious men of the past.

His collection also comprised lists of books compiled by specialists (as opposed to catalogues of a physical collection): he owned, for instance, Andrew Maunsell's *The First part of the*

[7] Joannes Georgius Graevius, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Luculentissimae … a Joanne de Witt*, (Dordrecht: Apud Theodorum Goris, & Joannem van Braam, bibliopolas, 1701).
[8] Pierre Dupuy, Jacques Dupuy, and Ismael Boulliau, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae* (Paris: Impensis directionis. Prostat in eadem bibliotheca. Et apud Dom. Levesque directionis notarium, viâ S. Severini., 1679)
[9] *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Raphaelis Tricheti Du Fresne* (Paris: Apud viduam & haeredes, Ruë du Mail, 1662).
[10] Gabriel Naudé, *Bibliothecæ Cordesianæ Catalogus. Cum Indice Titulorum* (Paris: Excudebat Antonius Vitray ... . Prostant exemplaria apud Laurentium Saunier ..., 1643).

catalogue of English printed books printed in London in 1595,[11] and John Hartley's 1699 *Catalogus universalis librorum*, an early attempt at a universal catalogue.[12] We can again see evidence here of Ellys's respect for professional and academic authority in compilers of book lists. He clearly had a genuine interest in the field of books and a desire to learn about them, not just to buy them. Outdated catalogues, catalogues not related to sales, and book lists not related to an actual collection seem to have a common purpose: as reference works to browse as time allowed. As with his perusal of literary journals and publishers' catalogues, browsing these reference books allowed Ellys an overview of a collection already curated by an expert, whether a famous collector or a specialist scholar. For Ellys, then, the activity of browsing was more than just the precursor to purchase; the use of catalogues as reference works is not only an activity of directly choosing items to buy. In addition, the perusal of these lists represents an attempt to develop a near-comprehensive list of the entirety of books published: in other words to make visible the full extent of knowledge and information available beyond the walls of his library, in order to browse it over time. This is understandable during this period of apparent information overload, as it represents a recognition of the importance of reliable meta-information and the desire to access it.

The problem with the evidence presented in these catalogues is that it is not clear if Ellys actually read them himself. Instead, this could have been the working collection of Mitchell or some other figure involved in acquiring material for the library. Nevertheless, it indicates Ellys's positioning of himself as a book collector of repute and consequence. He presumably issued instructions to Mitchell or another librarian that required the consultation of these catalogues and lists. If the collection of catalogues was mostly employed by Mitchell, then it is once again evidence of Ellys's recognition of expert authority in the realm of books. Ellys relied on the knowledge of Mitchell as an expert in the field of buying books and developing a library, and he supplied the necessary tools for Mitchell to undertake this work. Regardless of who undertook the majority of browsing behaviour or made the most use of catalogues and reference works, it is clear that serious and dedicated browsing took place on a continual basis. Ellys had an appreciation for specialized knowledge and authority, whether

[11] Andrew Maunsell, *The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (London: Printed by Iohn VVindet [and James Roberts] for Andrew Maunsell, dwelling in Lothburie, 1595).
[12] John Hartley, *Catalogus Universalis Librorum* (London: Apud Joannem Hartley bibliopolam, exadversum Hospitio Grayensi, in vico vulgo Holborn dicto., 1699).

belonging to Mitchell, a compiler of a specialized list, or a long-dead collector, and made use of this expertise in acquiring his books. His browsing behaviour demonstrates an intention to stay on top of newly-emerging information, as well as to conceptualize and visualize an overview of all available knowledge of past and present.

Selecting

Browsing through books for possible acquisition must periodically pique the interest of the collector in a specific item, and the library's auction catalogues also provide evidence of this activity of selecting. Some of this selection behaviour was very straightforward. For example, a copy of the catalogue of the 1741 Uilenbroek sale, of which two copies still remain in the library, is marked up with small crosses in the margins next to items Ellys wanted to acquire.[13] Most of these marked books are now to be found in the library; it seems Ellys browsed the list of available items and chose which ones he wanted.
There is evidence of similar, but crucially different, behaviour in the 1720 *Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana, ou Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Monsieur Georges Guillaume Baron de Hohendorf*.[14] Ellys had two copies of this, one of which is annotated with small pencil marks next to certain items in the section of *Cabinet du Roi* books in folio. These are books of engravings of the treasures of the court of Louis XIV, compiled in the seventeenth century under Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the librarian of the royal collection. The plates were later re-issued in a second edition as volumes on paper of uniform size in 1727, and Ellys's collection contains works from both the original and second editions. The marked books correspond to books now in the library and listed in Mitchell's catalogue. It seems that this, like the Uilenbroek catalogue, is a case of Ellys identifying items of interest when browsing available books, and successfully acquiring them from the sale.

Complicating this, however, is the fact that the Hohendorf sale never took place. Instead, the collection was bought in its entirety by the Emperor Charles VI for 60,000 guilders and is

[13] Jacobus Wetstein, *Bibliotheca Uilenbroukiana* (Amsterdam: apud Wetstenium & Smith, 1729).
[14] *Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana* (The Hague: Chez Abraham de Hondt, 1720).

now held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.[15] The presence of the marked books in the library cannot be explained simply by opportunistic buying. Rather, the books must have been chosen and specifically sought elsewhere. This is a rigorous and strategic behaviour – it is not passively choosing things from a list of available items, but identifying books to actively seek out and target in the wider book market. Book selection is an area that has received a lot of attention when studying libraries, which is logical as examining a library's contents to see what books were chosen is simple, obvious, and necessary. A lot of research in the field of library history assumes that collectors can be divided into categories based on whether their selection choices are motivated mainly by a scholarly desire for information or a material desire for rare and beautiful books as luxury collectibles. This seems a much overblown distinction, and Ellys's selection behaviour indicates an intention to seek substantive content alongside a desire to own artefacts.

The Hohendorf catalogue is one of the only direct pieces of evidence of Ellys's selecting behaviour, but simply examining the contents of his library reveals much about which books were chosen. While certainly we cannot guarantee that each book in the library was thoughtfully and intentionally selected, it is reasonable to use an overview of the library's contents as a general picture of selection behaviour. For Ellys, the selection process was for the most part a content-seeking behaviour. By examining the whole library broadly, we can see that most of the books in Ellys's library seem to have been selected for their contents, prioritizing the acquisition of knowledge and information over aesthetics or rarity. Much of his selection behaviour revolved around his interest in particular topics, identifiable from his reputation and correspondence, the contents of his library, and his own scholarly work. In addition to several predictable subjects such as law, history, and classics, topics of major selecting and collecting activity are: Bibles and religious commentaries (particularly relating to Protestantism), government and war, numismatics and antiquities, and the history of books and early printing. As a Dissenter and a Biblical scholar, it is no surprise to find a huge number of books relating to Christianity in general and Protestantism in particular. Undoubtedly it was this interest that led to his acquisition of the *Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises reformées au royaume de France* of 1580 and others like it on the subject of

[15] 'Item Record: Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana...', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Bibliotheca%20Hohendorfiana&rn=2> [accessed 26 April 2022].

Protestantism, with a particular focus on its spread on the Continent.[16] One book of particular interest is *Digestorum seu Pandectarum iuris ciuilis volumen primum, vndecim libros priores complectens*, printed by Robert Estienne in 1527-8.[17] Ellys's copy is annotated and inscribed by Jean Fileau of Poitiers, a vehement anti-Protestant.[18] As a staunch Protestant himself, Fileau's comments would not have been to Ellys's taste. This seemingly non-Protestant work forms an interesting foil to Ellys's personal religious convictions, and its presence seems to illustrate his attempt to collect works on all sides of the religious debate to create a comprehensive library. This desire for comprehensiveness is also seen in his possession of a well-thumbed copy of *A complete catalogue of all the discourses written, both for and against popery, in the time of King James II*.[19] This list, as well as the presence of several of the identified 'discourses' in his library, confirm Ellys's interest in the topic and his curiosity about all sides of the surrounding arguments and debates.

Alongside religion, well represented in the collection are books on government, history of government, and war. The library contains numerous works on French heraldry and the arms of aristocratic families of Britain and France. The English civil war was a topic of endless fascination to Ellys, and the library contains many books and tracts on the subject. Ellys sought in particular any material relating to his great-grandfather John Hampden, in whose exploits he took obvious interest and pride. As a collector of coins and medals in addition to books, it is hardly surprising to find a significant number of works on numismatics and antiquities in the collection. The 1727 *Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures, explain'd and exemplify'd in several dissertations*, a reference book about ancient coins, has

[16] Théodore de Bèze, *Histoire ecclesiastiqve des églises reformées av royavme de France* (Anvers [i.e. Geneva]: De l'Imprimerie de Iean Remy, 1580).
[17] Justinian I, *Digestorum Seu Pandectarum Iuris Ciuilis Volumen Primum, Vndecim Libros Priores Complectens* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani e regione Scholae Decretorum, 1527).
[18] 'Item Record: Digestorum Seu Pandectarum Iuris Ciuilis Volumen Primum, Vndecim Libros Priores Complectens', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Digestorum%20seu%20Pandectarum%20iuris%20ciuilis%20volumen%20primum&rn=2&for=ntr> [accessed 26 April 2022].
[19] Francis Peck, *A Complete Catalogue of All the Discourses Written, Both for and against Popery, in the Time of King James II* (London: Printed and sold at St. John's Gate; by A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; J. Stag and J. Fox, in Westminster-Hall, E. Nutt and Mrs. Cook, at the Royal Exchange., 1735).

the note 'Aureus 25 Denarii p 180' in Mitchell's hand on the rear flyleaf.[20] It seems likely that this note is a reference to a specific item in Ellys's own collection. Sadly Ellys's non-book collections are no longer extant and no archival material survives outlining what they may have comprised. And yet the evidence of the library suggests that collecting coins and medals was not a casual hobby to Ellys, but something to which he devoted extensive intellectual energy and academic research. Indeed, a letter from Maurice Johnson (1688-1755, founder of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society) to Ellys requests that he confirm a fact in one of his numismatic books. Other correspondence between Johnson and Beaupré Bell (another Society member) indicates that it was to Ellys that Johnson sent a Roman coin for identification.[21] Owning these reference works indicates that Ellys was more than casually interested in his numismatic collections, and that his library facilitated serious scholarly research into these artefacts.

The history of printing was a topic of emerging interest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and one which received a great deal of scholarly attention.[22] Ellys was fascinated by this topic himself, and accumulated a great many books on the topic, such as Jean de la Caille's *The History of the Art of Printing, containing an account of it's* [sic] *invention and progress in Europe*, translated by James Watson from the 1689 French edition (of which Ellys also had a copy) and published in Edinburgh in 1713.[23] Watson included a lengthy appendix providing examples of typefaces available at his Edinburgh print shop. The library also contains Bernard von Mallinckrodt's *De ortu et progressu artis typographicae* published in Cologne in 1640, which was released at the two hundredth anniversary of the invention of moveable type and which insisted that it was a German invention, not Dutch.[24] (Mallinckrodt also coined the term 'incunabula'.) While Ellys never published on this subject himself, it is clear that he devoted extensive time and shelf space to learning about the topic. Nearly two

[20] John Arbuthnot, *Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures Explain'd and Exemplify'd in Several Dissertations.* (London: Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand, 1727).
[21] *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentleman's Society, 1710-1761*, ed. by D. Honeybone and M. Honeybone, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 99 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 70, 81, 85, 92-3.
[22] McKitterick, pp. 46-8.
[23] Jean de La Caille, *The History of the Art of Printing*, trans. by James Watson (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Watson, sold at his shop and atthe shops of David Scot, and George Stewart, 1713); Jean de La Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie* (Paris: Chez Jean de La Caille, ruë Saint Jacques, à la Prudence, 1689).
[24] Bernard von Mallinckrodt, *De ortu ac progressu artis typographicae* (Cologne: apud Ioannem Kinchium sub monocerote veteri, 1640).

full book cases at Blickling are devoted to the study of early printing, representing a significant proportion of the library.

Beyond topics of particular interest, another priority in Ellys's selection behaviour was to gather complete sets. This is seen in several multi-volume works in the library, such as Louis Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont's *Histoire des Empereurs* of 1690-1738, in which the sixth and final volume lacks the loopy signature of a former owner that is present in the other five volumes; it seems the last book was acquired separately to complete the set and had to be sourced from a different seller.[25] Likewise *Letters written by a Turkish spy*, published by H. Rhodes in London, a work in eight volumes where the first is from the fifth edition and the second through eighth volumes are of the sixth edition; this also suggests a piecemeal acquisition process.[26] This desire to complete sets is also demonstrated in one of the few pieces of archival evidence relating to the library, in the form of a list in Mitchell's hand of 'Pieces wanting in Sir R. Ellys's Cabinet du Roi'. Clearly Ellys and/or Mitchell were aware of and bothered by the fact that the library's *Cabinet du Roi* book series was incomplete, and Mitchell drew up this list of the missing volumes with the presumed intent of seeking them out for purchase.[27] (Despite his efforts, Ellys's set was never completed.) Similar is the Blickling copy of *The true, genuine, Tory-address, to which is added, An explanation of some hard terms now in use: for the information of all such as read, or subscribe, addresses*, published in 1710, contains Mitchell's note 'After this followed The Voice of the Addressers: but of that I cannot now procure a Copy'.[28] Again, Mitchell made an effort to complete the set and purposely noted down that he was unable to do so. This attempt to form complete sets is, on the one hand, natural and even mundane. Of course Ellys wanted to own all parts of a

[25] Louis Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs: et des autres princes qui ont regné durant les six premier siècles de l'Église* (Paris: Chez Charles Robustel, 1690-1738).
[26] Mahmut, the Turkish Spy, *The First Volume of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy Who Lived Five and Forty Years, Undiscover'd, at Paris*, the fifth edition (London: printed by J. Leake, for Henry Rhodes, 1693) ; Mahmut, the Turkish Spy, *The Second [Third-Eighth] Volume of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy Who Lived Five and Forty Years, Undiscover'd, at Paris*, the sixth edition (London: printed H. Rhodes, D. Brown, R. Sare, J. Nicolson, B. Took, and G. Strahan, 1707).
[27] 'Inventory of Books, undated', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/5.
[28] Benjamin Hoadly, *The True, Genuine, Tory-Address To Which Is Added, an Explanation of Some Hard Terms Now in Use: For the Information of All Such as Read, or Subscribe, Addresses.* ([London]: Sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1710).

work. And yet it also suggests an academic intention to pursue complete information. This is certainly related to Ellys's demonstrated intention, referred to briefly above, to create a comprehensive list of books as a type of meta-information. It is also seen in his development of a comprehensive collection of works about Protestantism. This interest in and effort towards comprehensiveness echoes a style of collecting prevalent in earlier centuries and influenced greatly by Gabriel Naudé and his exhortations of comprehensiveness.[29] While Ellys's library does not demonstrate an extreme (or even necessarily conscious) intent to produce a collection representative of all knowledge as set out by Naudé, there is nevertheless strong evidence of Ellys's desire to represent fully all topics that interested him.

It is evident that much of Ellys's selection behaviour was motivated by a desire to acquire accurate and complete information; any putative collection policy was based primarily around topics of interest rather than aesthetics or rarity. And yet this is complicated by the presence in the library of quite a few books in duplicate. Why buy more than one copy of a book? The reason for these must go beyond the contents of the book. If the *only* motivation behind selection decisions were to access information, then we should expect to see very few or no duplicate copies. One likely, although generally not verifiable, explanation is that the second copy of these may have arrived as part of an auction lot along with a more desirable item. Other possible explanations abound: duplicates resulting from gifts, duplicates bought with the intention to give one away, favourite works bought in multiple copies to be kept in different places, etc., but none of these can be reliably determined. However, one motivation behind acquiring a duplicate copy can be clearly discerned: the intention to acquire a 'special' or 'better' copy: for instance, the two copies of the 1670 *Tabulae sacrae geographicae sive Notitia antiqua, medii temporis, & nova nominum vtriusque Testamenti ad geographiam pertinentium* by Augustus Lubin.[30] One is bound at the end of the final volume of a Paris edition of the Vulgate Bible of 1651-52.[31] The second copy, however, sports the armorial binding of Karl Heinrich, Graf von Hoym (1694-1736) in red morocco, presumably made by

[29] Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: chez Francois Targa, 1627).
[30] Augustin Lubin, *Tabulae Sacrae Geographicae Sive Notitia Antiqua, Medii Temporis, & Nova Nominum Vtriusque Testamenti Ad Geographiam Pertinentium* (Paris: Typis Petri le Petit, regis & vtriusque academiae typographi, viâ Iacobeâ, sub Cruce Aureâ, 1670).
[31] *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae Editionis* (Paris: Excudebat Antonius Vitré, regis, & cleri Gallicani, typographus, 1651).

his binders Boyet and Du Seuil.[32] Hoym was the ambassador to Paris of Saxony, and developed a magnificent (and sizeable) library over the course of his life which was sold in 1738 following his suicide.[33] The Hoym copy, in addition to smaller size making it easier to consult, came from an illustrious former owner and features an appealing and attractive binding.

This Hoym book seems to be an instance of a pattern discernible throughout the library, where Ellys selected and sought a book as an artefact rather than out of a pure desire for information. This type of artefact-seeking behaviour is appreciably different from the information-seeking behaviour that generally dominated Ellys's selection decisions. Many of these artefact items were sold in the 1932 Lothian sale before Blickling was given over to the National Trust, but a substantial number can still be identified on the shelves of the library today. Ellys followed several threads in his artefact selection: the pursuit of a specimen or archetype book, the draw of a historically significant edition, the interest in rarity, the desire for the prestige associated with a well-known figure, or the lure of a fine binding. In referring to these books as 'artefacts', I do not intend to suggest that they were not read or that they were valued *only* as objects of aesthetic beauty or prestige. Yet it is important to acknowledge that Ellys was not immune to the appeal of 'collectible' books, and that his selection behaviour extended beyond a simple desire for information and content to include some purchases that aimed at acquiring specific material objects.

Technically, of course, all books are artefacts in the sense that they are produced by human beings and do not occur naturally. But I use the word here to signal an object that is *observed*. A book becomes an artefact when its significance is drawn not from its contents but from its physicality, whether interpreted visually or tactilely. It is valued in its materiality, and its economic worth derives from its social value rather than its use value. I have hitherto referred to this second tier as 'artefacts', and yet for some of them the word 'specimen' may be more

---

[32] 'Item Record: Tabulae Sacrae Geographica...', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Tabulae%20sacrae%20geographicae%20sive%20Notitia%20antiqua%2C%20medii%20temporis%2C%20%26%20nova%20nominum%20vtriusque%20Testamenti%20ad%20geographiam%20pertinentium%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 26 April 2022].

[33] Jérôme Frédéric Pichon, *The Life of Charles Henry Count Hoym, Ambassador from Saxony-Poland to France and Eminent French Bibliophile, 1694-1736* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1899).

appropriate. A specimen is defined as ‘a single thing selected or regarded as typical of its class; a part or piece of something taken as representative of the whole’.[34] The metonymic aspect of a specimen is key, and differentiates it from an artefact. A specimen book, in this interpretation, is regarded academically, and is seen as an archetype of a given phenomenon. It is clear when examining the contents of the library and Mitchell’s catalogue that one of his most clearly identifiable priorities was the attempt to collect specimens of early printing from several major printing houses of Europe such as the Aldine and Estienne presses. The library contains numerous Aldines, including the 1514 edition of *Scriptores rei rusticae*, which retains its contemporary binding of gold-tooled brown goatskin.[35] While Ellys was not particularly interested in the history of printing in England, much preferring that of the Continent, he owned a small number of works published by Richard Pynson, Wynkyn de Worde, and William Caxton.

Ellys also had an particular interest in the Estienne printing house, and collected Estienne books in their hundreds. The Estiennes were a family of Huguenots who worked in France and Switzerland across several generations from the sixteenth century, and Mitchell’s catalogue has an entire section dedicated to Estienne works. One book particularly associated with Henri Estienne is his 1554 edition of Anacreon’s poems.[36] The library holds two copies of this work, and one bears the note of Michael Maittaire (1668-1747, Huguenot bibliographer, scholar, and personal associate of Ellys) "Hoc est primum H. Stephaniae typographiae specimen. M. Maittaire" (‘this is the first item printed by Henri Estienne’).[37] Evidently, Ellys was well aware that this was a specimen of historical significance. Perhaps the most remarkable item in the collection associated with the Estiennes is the large *Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae Thesaurus* published in France in 1543 by Robert Estienne, father of Henri.[38] This work was also owned personally by Henri Estienne and bears his

[34] ‘Specimen, n.’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press) <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/186018> [accessed 26 April 2022].
[35] Georgius Merula and Giovanni Giocondo, *Libri de Re Rustica M. Catonis* (Venice: In aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri, 1514).
[36] Anacreon, *Tiou mele [Anacreontis Teij Odae]*, trans. by Henri Estienne (Lutetiae: Apud Henricum Stephanum, 1554).
[37] Margaret Clunies Ross and Amanda J. Collins, ‘Maittaire, Michael (1668–1747), Classical Scholar and Typographer’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17841>.
[38] Robert Estienne, *Dictionarium, Seu Latinae Linguae Thesaurus* (Parisiis: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, 1543).

inscription ‘ex bibliotheca Henricij Stephanj’. This is a particularly fascinating artefact, however, as all four volumes bear Henri’s extensive hand-written notes as well as small printed slips pasted in, expanding and correcting the entries (which will be discussed further in the following chapter). Interestingly, this book was found by Mitchell before he even arrived in Ellys’s employ. A letter he wrote from London to Mackie in Edinburgh on 4 July 1730 indicates that he had his eye on the *Dictionarium*; he was at the time in ‘very uncertain’ circumstances, having ‘had two offers’ but being ‘obliged to refuse both’.[39] Evidently Mitchell recognized the importance and significance of this work despite not being commissioned to purchase it for a particular buyer. Ellys clearly had confidence in Mitchell’s knowledge and expertise as a selector of books, and took on both the man and the *Dictionarium* into his library. Absolutely unique, this was undoubtedly a highly desirable object for Ellys and a treasure among his collection of Estienne works.

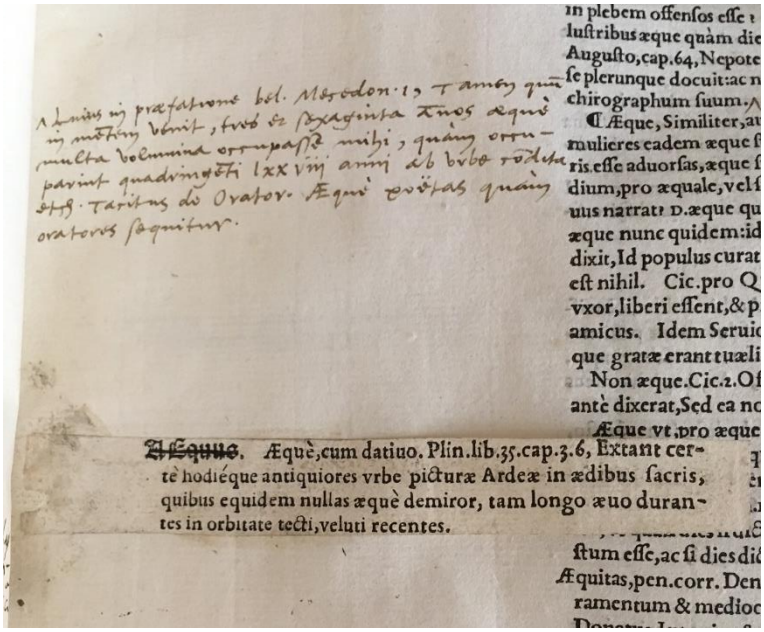

Figure 1 Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae Thesaurus published in France, published Paris, 1543, by Robert Estienne

Along with books from well-known early printers, the contents of the library demonstrate Ellys’s interest in what may be seen as specimens of historical significance. While incunabula are perhaps the most obvious example of this type, as they are seen as being an inherently significant category of books by modern scholars, Ellys did not seem keen on incunabula *per se*. Indeed, given its reputation as a collection of old and rare books, the library has a

[39] ‘Letter to Charles Mackie, 4 July, 1730’, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.26.

comparatively small number of incunabula relative to its size (I would estimate less than 2% of the total, although it is hard to be certain given that the library is not yet fully catalogued). Ellys's interest seemed instead to be in early editions of works. Several books have notes indicating that they are first editions, such as the *Orationes* of Isocrates published 1493 in Milan which bears Mitchell's inscription 'Isocrates 1ma edit.'.[40]

Ellys's copy of the1462 Mainz Bible is also identified as a first edition, with Mitchell noting this in his catalogue entry.[41] In fact this was an erroneous assessment, but Ellys died before the 1763 discovery of the earlier Gutenberg Bible in the Mazarin library by Guillaume-Francois Debure.[42] Nevertheless, it is evident that Ellys was pleased and proud to own what he thought to be such a historically and religiously significant work. This selection decision was obviously not driven by a desire to read the Bible – Ellys had multiple other Bibles, many easier to read. Rather, this is evidence of a desire to acquire a specific edition because of its historical importance. The misidentification of this as the first printed edition of the Bible could explain why Ellys declined to purchase a Gutenberg Bible when one became available at the 1724 sale of the library of Louis Henri de Loménie, comte de Brienne (1635-1698).[43] He felt he already owned the more interesting and valuable artefact. Sadly, the Mainz Bible was sold in 1932 for $19,000 and is no longer part of Blickling's collection.

Another early and significant Bible in Ellys's collection is the Coverdale Bible. Ellys owned four copies, two of the 1535 first edition and two of the 1550 second edition.[44] One copy of the 1535 edition was sold in the 1932 Lothian sale, and the other was cannibalized extensively to make up a perfect copy for sale, but the two 1550 copies remain untroubled in

---

[40] Isocrates, *Isokratous Pros Dēmonikou Logos Parainetikos* (Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte Tremulo, 1493).
[41] *[Biblia latina]* (Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 1462).
[42] Tablot W. Chambers, ed., *The Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge and Gazetteer*, second ed. (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1891), p. 553.
[43] *Illustrissimi & Excellentissimi Ludovici Henrici, Comitis Castri-Briennij ... Bibliothecae, Ad Ejusdem Filium Constantiae in Normannia Episcopum Pertinentis, Catalogus* (London: Woodman and Lyon, 1724), p. 1 (lot 1).
[44] Miles Coverdale, tran., *Biblia: The Bible, That Is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, Faithfully and Truly Translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe* ([Cologne? Printed by E. Cervicornus and J. Soter?], 1535); Miles Coverdale, tran., *The Whole Byble That Is the Holy Scripture of the Olde and Newe Testament*, ([Zurich]: printed [by Christoph Froschauer, and S. Mierdman?] for Andrewe Hester, dwellynge in Paules churchyard at the sygne of the whyte horse, and are there to be solde, 1550).

the library. One of these, at running number 6852, has a small slip with Mitchell's notes comparing 'ours' to 'Bible Osborne' and his remark that 'many other dirty leaves in this copy, may be supplied out of the other'. It seems that Mitchell was comparing Ellys's 1550 copy to one offered for sale by Thomas Osborne, a well-known bookseller in London, and that he concluded it was a worthwhile purchase as leaves from Osborne's unsullied copy could supplement the dirty pages of Ellys's first copy. Clearly this second copy was not selected and purchased because Ellys didn't know what the first copy said, but rather because Ellys wished for an unsullied specimen of this Bible that was central to the religious history of England and of Protestantism. Ellys's interest in the origins of Protestantism doubtless also motivated him to acquire John Wycliffe's *Dialogorum libri quattuor* of 1525, an amalgamation of some of Wycliffe's controversial theological writings printed in the same year that William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament was published.[45]

Ellys also owned a copy of the New Testament edited by Desiderius Erasmus and printed in Basel in 1519 by Johann Froben.[46] This Bible continued humanist attempts to return to the sources of early texts which was initiated by the Spanish Cardinal Ximenes who wished to print the entire Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The Old Testament was published between 1514-1517 (Ellys, naturally, had a copy of it). The New Testament's release was delayed by Erasmus's thoroughness: his peregrinations around Europe allowed him access to a wider variety of source material than was available to most previous editors, and he was able to determine where the Vulgate, translated by St Jerome in the early 5th century, differed from original sources. This was distasteful to mainstream theologians, but the Erasmus edition was eventually published in Basel. The text was accompanied by woodcuts produced by Ambrosius and Hans Holbein, which in the Blickling copy are hand-coloured and touched with gold and silver.[47]

---

[45] John Wycliffe, *Dialogorum. Libri quattuor: quorum primus divinitatem et ideas tractat, secundus universarum creationem complectitur, tertius de virtutibus vitiisque ipsis contrariis* ([Basel]: s.n., 1525); *[The New Testament]*, trans. by William Tyndale (Cologne: Peter Quentell[?], 1525).
[46] Desiderius Erasmus, *Nouum Testamentum omne* (Basel: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenij, 1519).
[47] Nicolas Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses* (New York: Royal Oak Foundation & The Grolier Club, 1999), p. 72.

It seems evident that Ellys valued books like the Mainz and Coverdale Bibles as historically (and religiously) important texts. But it is clear that some other books were sought out for their rarity or uniqueness in addition to, or even instead of, any historical significance as specimens. The library's several early school books seem to fall into this category. *Ortus Vocabulorum* printed by Richard Pynson in 1509, bound with Geoffrey's *Medulla Grammaticae* printed by Julian Notary in 1508, which were issued together, are Latin grammars – not academically useful to Ellys, and certainly not particularly attractive or decorative. The draw with books of this sort, rather, seems to be their scarcity. Of this edition of the *Ortus* there are now only four surviving copies, and this copy of the *Medulla* is the only one to survive still bound with the *Ortus*.[48] Similarly, the Blickling copy of *Les illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troy* by Jean Lemaire de Belges (printed in France, 1524) bears Mitchell's note that it is 'curious and scarce'.[49] This provides concrete evidence of an interest in and awareness of rarity. Simply owning this and other highly unusual volumes demonstrated that his library was unparalleled in its contents and thus functioned to express Ellys's status.

While printed books make up the vast majority of the collection, the library also contains numerous manuscripts. A selection policy that valued rarity would certainly value manuscripts which are, by definition, absolutely unique. The majority of the contemporary manuscript material came from the Netherlands, which was a prime book-hunting ground for Ellys. The library contains, for instance, Abraham de Wicquefort's manuscript of his *L'histoire des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas*, which was bought by Robert Hampden-Trevor from the widow of the bookseller Charlies Levier of the Hague for 'three hundred and a few florins' after Levier's death in 1734 (according to notes in the manuscript itself).[50] As the published version is also found in Ellys's library, it is safe to assume that this manuscript was

[48] *Ortus Vocabulorum* (London: Richard Pynson, 1508); *Promptoriu[m] paruūlorum [sic] clericor[um]: quod apud nos Medulla gra[m]matice appellatur scolasticis q[uia] maxi[m]e necessariu[m]* (London: Impressum per ... Julianum notarium ..., 1508); Barker, *Treasures*, p.70.
[49] Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Les illustrations de gaule et singularitez de Troye* (Paris: par Philippe le noir marcha[n]t libraire [et] relieur iure en Luniuersite de Paris demourant en la gra[n]t rue sainct Jaques a lenseigne de la Rose blanche couronnee, 1524).
[50] Abraham de Wicquefort, '[Histoire Des Provinces-Unies Des Pais-Bas]' ([Netherlands], 1667), Blickling Hall.

selected not to read but as a unique artefact relevant to Ellys's interest in the Low Countries where he had been educated as a young man.[51]

A discussion of the library's manuscripts would not be complete without reference to two of its greatest treasures, the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts now known as the Blickling Homilies and the Blickling Psalter, both sold in 1932. The former is a collection of sermons dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century and is now held at Princeton University Library.[52] The latter is now MS M.776 at the Morgan Library in New York, and was written circa 730 in Northern Northumbria.[53] Ellys bought these in 1724 from William Pownall, an antiquarian of Lincolnshire. Pownall had in fact been intending to sell the two manuscripts to the well-known book collector Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689-1741). While the books were in Harley's safe awaiting the completion of the transaction, Pownall invited Ellys to view them at Harley's house. Harley's librarian Humfrey Wanley writes in his diary of his shock and outrage when Pownall ended up selling them to Ellys instead of to his own employer.[54] Wanley's diary entries make this one of the few extant instances of direct evidence of Ellys selecting and purchasing books, and it is nearly certain he was not motivated by a desire to consume their contents. Ellys's library contained other Psalters. Instead, it seems he was strongly motivated by a desire to own these unique and extremely old manuscripts. He valued the cachet of these ancient specimens and may have also enjoyed the element of competition with a rival collector.

The prestige furnished by a unique manuscript also seems to have been sought in Ellys's seeking items associated with personages of renown. Russell W. Belk explains that social status is derived through possessing an object that remains strongly associated with someone else; this is the attractiveness of an autographed baseball card or a dress worn by a celebrity.[55] Ellys's attraction to the products of the Estienne printing house extended even to the Estienne family themselves. Among his Estienne works are several that were actually owned by

---

[51] Abraham de Wicquefort, *L'histoire des provinces-unies, confirmée & eclaircie par des preuves authentiques* (The Hague: Chez T. Johnson, 1719).
[52] '[Blickling Homilies]'.
[53] '[Blickling Psalter]'.
[54] Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, ed. by C.E. Wright and Ransom C. Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), pp. 352-3 and 399.
[55] Russell W. Belk, 'Possessions and the Extended Self', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15.2 (1988), 139–68 (p. 149).

members of the family. The Blickling copy of the Greek New Testament, printed by Henri Estienne in Paris in 1550, was owned by Henri Estienne himself and bears his signature.[56] After Estienne, the book was owned and signed by Theodoor Jansson ab Almeloveen (1657-1712), a Dutch scholar who wrote a history of the Estienne family in 1638. Almeloveen's annotations can be found throughout the book and undoubtedly enhance its illustrious provenance. Isaac Casaubon's 1605 *De Satyrica Graecorum poesi, & Romanorum satira libri duo* is found in duplicate in the collection, at running numbers 5437 and 4188.[57] The former has the distinctive 'C&P' mark of Thomas Rawlinson, and must have been bought from one of his sales in the 1720s and '30s in which Ellys participated enthusiastically. The latter comes from the library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), director of the Bibliothèque du Roi from 1661-1683, whose library was sold in Paris in 1728 and London in 1729 and 1735. While the Colbert copy is in a plain limp vellum binding with yapp edges, the Rawlinson copy has the honour of the armorial binding of the Stuart royal family. Ellys's attraction to artefacts associated with French royalty is also evident in Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chroniques,* which has ink stamps on the title pages of volumes two and three featuring the phrase 'Bibliothecae Regiae' accompanied by three fleur de lys: likely made more attractive to Ellys by its French royal provenance.[58]

More common than books with royal associations, though, are books associated with illustrious scholars. Among these is Marius Victorinus's commentary on Cicero's *Rhetorics* published in Paris in 1537, which formerly belonged to Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), as is noted in the hand of the physician Robert Grey (1664-1722) of the Royal College of Physicians of London: 'Hic librum possidebat Josephus Scaliger…'.[59] While this does not

---

[56] *Ts Kains Diathks hapanta* [*Nouum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum] Ex Bibliotheca Regia.*, ed. by Robert Estienne, Editio Regia (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, regiis typis, 1550).
[57] Isaac Casaubon, *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira Libri Duo...* (Parisiis: Apud Ambrosium & Hieronymum Drouart, via Jacobaea, sub scuto solaris aurei., 1605).
[58] Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *Chroniques d'Enguerran* (Paris: chez Guillaume Chaudiere, 1572).
[59] Marius Victorinus, *Rhetoris Doctissimi Commentarii in Rhetoricos M. Tullii Ciceronis* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1537); 'Item Record: M. Fabii Victorini Rhetoris Doctissimi Commentarii in Rhetoricos M. Tullii Ciceronis', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20M.%20Fabii%20Victorini%20rhetoris%20doctissimi%20Commentarii%20in%20Rhetoricos%20M.%20Tullii%20Ciceronis%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022]; .

bear Scaliger's annotations, the library contains several books that do have marginal notes in the hands of prominent figures of the past. For instance, Daniel Heinsius's *Poematum*, published at Leiden in 1606, is the author's presentation copy to 'Magnifico viro D Petro Pauwio Acad. Rectori, d[omi]no [et] patrono suo [symbol] [symbol] autor', (i.e. Pieter Paaw (1564-1617), Professor and Rector at Leiden University).[60] The author's inscription seems to have made this a desirable object, and it may have come into Ellys's path through his connections in Leiden. It is not only inscriptions in the author's hand, but also inscriptions of other prominent scholars that are represented in the library. The *Academiques de Ciceron*, published in 1740, is annotated by David Durand (1680-1763) who translated the work for this edition.[61] Durand was a reformist minister and historian, and his copy likely appealed to Ellys's religious interests as well as his interest in Cicero.[62] The *Proverbs* of Michael Apostolius, for example, has the inscribed name 'Heynsij' which likely refers to one of the Classical scholars Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) or his son Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681).[63] Similarly, Suetonius's *De Vita Caesarum XII Caesares* features notes in the hand of the Dutch philologist Pieter Nanninck (1500-57).[64] Mitchell remarks on Nanninck's annotations in his inscription on the front flyleaf, indicating that the provenance of this book is remarkable and valuable within the context of Ellys's library. The inscriptions make unique this copy of a mass-produced printed book.

One more distinct class of artefact book can be discerned in the library: those that are simply aesthetically pleasing and distinctive. A perfect example is Ellys's manuscript copy of Suetonius's *De Vita Caesarum*, produced for Borso D'Este (1413-1471), Duke of Ferrara,

---

[60] Daniel Heinsius, *Poematum*, Nova editio auctior emendatiorque: quorum seriem aversa statim pagina indicabit. (Leiden: Apud Iohannem Maire, 1606).
[61] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Academiques*, trans. by David Durand (London: Chez Paul Vaillant, dans le Strand, vis à vis de Southampton-Street, 1740).
[62] 'Item Record: Academiques de Ciceron', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Academiques%20de%20Ciceron%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022].
[63] Michael Apostolius, *Tou Bizantiou Paroimiai [Bisantii Paroemiae]* (Basel: Ex officina Heruagiana, 1538).
[64] Suetonius, *Tranquilli XII Caesares Ex Uetusto Exemplari Emendatiores Multis Locis.* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1543); 'Item Record: De Vita Caesarum', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20petrus%20nannius%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=6&for=ntr> [accessed 28 April 2022].

Modena and Reggio in 1452-53.[65] This manuscript, written in the humanist script of the scribe Johannes of Mainz, is now one of the jewels of the Blickling collection and was lucky to escape sale in 1932. It is elaborately decorated with illuminated initials, the arms of the Este family, and portraits of the emperors, painted by Marco dell'Avogaro, the Ferrarese court book-painter. It is bound handsomely in sixteenth-century gold-tooled calf. The book passed through the hands of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-89) and likely Nicolaas Heinsius before Ellys bought it (likely in the Netherlands).[66] While the royal and scholarly association provide reason enough to explain Ellys's decision to select it, the manuscript's great beauty was likely hard to resist. Also handsome are the library's collection of the *Cabinet du Roi* books. Many of these, such as the 1674 *Les Plaisirs de l'Isle Enchantée*, feature a seventeenth-century Parisian presentation binding of red morocco with the gilt arms of Louis XIV on both upper and lower boards.[67] The *Cabinet de Roi* books were produced with the intention of being artefacts. They were not academic or particularly informative, but were instead items to collect, to bestow, and to demonstrate prestige. It seems that Ellys sought these out with purpose; it is clear that these books were intentionally acquired as prestigious and beautiful artefacts.

An appealing binding was also a draw for Ellys. The library contains a number of lavishly decorative bindings, such as the *Works* of Lucian of Samosata, published in Venice in 1503 by the Aldine press.[68] The volume is bound in olive green sixteenth-century goatskin with a tooled design of a classical sarcophagus featuring the title and author's name in gilt. Another Aldine volume, Herodotus's *Historiae* printed in 1502, also features a sixteenth-century binding, this one of blue-green calf tooled in gilt and blind with a medallion in the centre featuring a winged woman holding a globe.[69] The binding dates from approximately 1570 and is certainly French, and may be attributed to Gommar Estienne, the 'grand doreur de

---

[65] Suetonius, '[Ab Rhodo Quo p[Er]Tenderat ... Insequentiu[m] Principu[m]. Caesa[Rum] Lib[Er] Xii Explicit]' ([Ferrara?], ca. 1452), Blickling Hall, Running number 6917.
[66] 'Item Record: Ab Rhodo Quo p[Er]Tenderat ...', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20este%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=12&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022].
[67] *Les plaisirs de l'isle enchantée , course de bague* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale (par les soins de Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy), 1673).
[68] Lucian of Samosata, *Tade enestin en tōde tō bibliō Loukianou [Luciani Opera]* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1503).
[69] Herodotus, *Historiae Libri Novem Quibus Musarum Inclita Sunt Nomina.* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502).

Henri II'. It was a presentation copy from the Professor at the Collège des lecteurs royaux and royal Greek poet laureate Jean Dorat to the French duke Nicolas de Neufville de Villeroy (1598-1685), and has a lengthy dedicatory poem written by Dorat.[70] Similar is a 1497 Book of Hours from the Aldine press; small in size, it was the first Aldine making use of red ink. It is bound in reddish goatskin over boards, inlaid with an arabesque of darker leather, and with gilt gesso decoration on the corners.[71] Another notable Aldine is Sophocles *Tragoediae cum commentariis* of 1502. This is from Aldus's small-format series of classics, and employed a new style of type for both Greek and Latin. The volume is in a contemporary Venice binding of goatskin, with lavish tooling in blind and gilt.[72] The library has several bindings from Jean Grolier's famous library, among them Pietro Crinito's *Commentarii de honesta disciplina*, published in Florence by Filippo Giunta in 1504.[73] It is bound in brown calf with a busy interlaced pattern of gilt-tooled arabesques. Stubs of two pairs of green silk ties survive, as well as some paint on the leather binding. It features Grolier's well-known ex libris 'Io. Grolierii et amicorum' at the foot of the upper board, and his motto 'Portio mea sit in terra viventium' on the lower board, both in gilt. Another Grolier is Suetonius's *Opera* published by the Aldine press in 1521. It is bound in greenish leather with gilt rectangular panels around a gilt arabesque. The upper board has the title of the work in the centre with 'Grolierii et amicorum' at the foot and his other motto on the back. Initial letters have been added in gold.[74]

While Ellys's library does not contain enough decorative bindings to assume that this was a main priority of his selection activities, it is certain that it was one among many motivations. For example, with sixteenth-century volumes of Pindar, the library contains two copies of vastly differing appearance. The first, printed at Geneva in 1599, is in an attractive yet average eighteenth-century binding of sprinkled calf with red stained edges.[75] The version printed at Frankfurt in 1542, however, is encased in a remarkable binding by Reinerus Reineccius Steinheimius (1541-1595) (whose initials and the date 1570 are tooled in blind on

[70] Barker, Treasures, p. 65.
[71] *Horae: Ad Usum Romanum* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1497). See Barker, *Treasures*,p. 63.
[72] Sophocles, *Tragōdiai [Tragaediae]* (Venetiis: Aldus Manutius, 1502). See Barker, *Treasures*, p. 66.
[73] Pietro Crinito, *Petri Criniti Commentarii de Honesta Disciplina.* (Florence: impressum est hoc opus Petri Criniti: opera & impensa Philippi de Giunta bibliopol[a]e Flore[n]tini, 1504).
[74] Suetonius, *Opera* (Venice: Heirs of Aldus Manutius, 1521). See Barker, *Treasures*, p. 73.
[75] Pindar, *[Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia]* ([Geneva]: Oliua Pauli Stephani, 1599).

the upper cover).[76] The binding features images of Biblical figures, portraits of Reformation figures (Erasmus, Melanchthon, Luther, and Hus), and heads of Classical figures in medallions, along with heraldic symbols. This spectacular binding was evidently an object of great desire for Ellys, combining as it did his interests in Protestantism, Classics, and beautiful books. The ownership of both editions suggest that an element of artefact-seeking behaviour was at play in the selection process, and confirm that the desire for an interesting binding existed alongside the desire to access information.

The question arises as to whether books like these, valued for reasons beyond their contents, should be seen as luxury items that implicitly display status and prestige. Certainly it is a luxury to own such a huge number of books, with extensive time and economic resources devoted to their acquisition and management, but it seems misleading to treat the whole library as evidence of Ellys's luxurious lifestyle. It would be more worthwhile to consider individual books as touchstones or examples of luxury items and to reflect on their meaning in the context of contemporary debates over luxury. The question of luxury was much on the mind of the 18th century, and is unavoidable when discussing display and status derived through objects. While conspicuous consumption among the elite is particularly associated with the later decades of the century, Ellys's time also saw concern over a lavish style of living and the potential moral decay it signaled. Regardless of how Ellys saw himself or what he desired for his library, this context is undeniably relevant to any study of books and private libraries and the practice of collecting.

Maxine Berg offers a nuanced view of luxury, noting that:

> Definitions of luxury have varied over time, references to 'rarity' and 'conspicuous consumption' must always be contextualized as 'relative': a luxury to one may be a necessity to another. Our recent usage refers to goods that are widely desired because they are not yet widely consumed, but the word also invokes qualitative attributes of things and activities; they are 'pleasing', or they offer a 'refinement' on more generic necessities.

She argues that we 'should regard luxury goods not so much in contrast to necessities (a contrast filled with problems), but as goods whose principal use is rhetorical and social,

[76] Pindar, [*Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia]* (Frankfurt: Opera & impensa Petri Brubacchii, 1542).

goods that are simply incarnated signs'. Rather than responding to any physical necessities, 'the necessity to which they respond is fundamentally political'. She suggests that luxury should be regarded 'as a special "register" of consumption (by analogy to the linguistic model) [rather than] as a special class of thing'.[77] Arjan Appadurai also takes this view of luxury as a register. He identifies the signs of this register as: a restriction to elites (by price or law); complexity of acquisition (maybe or maybe not as a result of actual scarcity); 'semiotic virtuosity' i.e. the signaling of social messages; 'specialized knowledge as a prerequisite for their "appropriate" consumption' and strong links to their owner (paralleling the discussion above as objects of self-definition and self-presentation).[78] Istvan Hont establishes excessive individual consumption as the standard definition of luxury at the time, and notes that it was a topic of contention for both Christians and more secular republicans. Critics saw luxury as a product of inequality: the 'nemesis of courage, honour, and love of country'. Supporters saw it as promoting higher living standards, the circulation of money, artistic and scientific progress, manners, and happiness of citizens.[79] Anyone who has ever collected discarded buttons or cheap picture postcards will confirm that a large financial outlay is not necessary to form a collection, and yet the discomfort with luxury consumption and the suspicion and disparagement of prolific collectors (like Nicholas Gimcrack or Tom Folio, mocked in the Tatler for their useless collections and improvident acquisitiveness) make an interesting comparison.[80] These collections of buttons or postcards, although not indicative necessarily of financial wealth, nonetheless fit both Berg's and Appadurai's criteria as luxury possessions.

Collecting, as an undeniable practice of excessive (unnecessary) individual consumption, was in constant danger of being seen as a licentious luxury in the eighteenth century. Moral implications aside, the identifying of book collecting with luxury is not unwarranted.

---

[77] Berg, 'Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 173–91 (pp. 174-5).
[78] Arjan Appadurai, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjan Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3–63 (p. 38).
[79] Istvan Hont, 'The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. by Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 377–418 (pp. 379-380).
[80] Joseph Addison, 'Tom Folio', *The Tatler*, 158 (1710), pp. 150–53; 'The Will of a Virtuoso', *The Tatler*, 216 (1710), 28–29.

Mandelbrote notes how 'the owners of libraries became more preoccupied with the appearance of their books in the course of this period. Books were turned spine-out on the shelves and binders advertised their services to regild the spines to create a uniform decorative effect".[81] Samuel Pepys famously had his books all bound to match in ornate bindings, and took great pains to ensure an even appearance on his shelves, going so far as to prop up smaller books on blocks of wood to make their tops align with their neighbours'. Book collections, however, mostly managed to escape the accusations of selfishness and self-indulgence; the activity was condoned by virtue of occurring in the realm of 'serious leisure'.[82] Even Thomas Osborne's catalogue of the Harley collection makes reference to this debate, hoping that:

> Our Catalogue will excite any other Man to emulate the Collectors of this Library, to prefer Books and Manuscripts to Equipage and Luxury, and to forsake Noise and Diversion for the Conversation of the Learned, and the Satisfaction of extensive Knowledge.[83]

(This self-conscious distinction between 'books and manuscripts' and 'equipage and luxury' is slightly undermined by the next sentence, which boasts of the size and importance of the present collection.)

There are some books in Ellys's library that must be seen as belonging to a distinct register of luxury possessions. His large collection of *Cabinet du Roi* books, for instance, could be seen in this way: not used to gain knowledge or for personal edification, but rather to demonstrate an affinity with the lifestyle displayed in the books and their drawings. These books are notable, however, in that they were produced specifically as objects of luxury. By design, they meet most of Appadurai's criteria: they were restricted to elites by a high price (due to their expensive materials); they were difficult to acquire because they were produced in modest numbers (we have seen that Ellys did not successfully manage to acquire a full set); and they are 'semiotic[ally] virtuos[ic]', signaling their owner's interests and exalted social

---

[81] 'Personal Owners of Books', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume 2: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173–89 (p. 185).
[82] Robert A. Stebbins, 'Serious Leisure: A Conceptual Statement', *Pacific Sociological Review*, 25.2 (1982), 251–72 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1388726>; Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 72.
[83] Samuel Johnson and William Oldys, *Catalogus bibliothecæ Harleianæ : in locos communes distributus cum indice auctorum* (London: Apud Thomas Osborne, [1743]), prologue to volume one.

circle. If luxury items are those 'whose principal use is rhetorical and social' rather than functional,[84] then a good example is the fine decoration found on some of the library's books. Elaborate decoration is a luxury; it does not enhance a book's informational value or its usability. Particularly beautiful books stand out as inherently luxury objects, such as a 1589 manuscript of the statutes and ordinances of the Order of the Garter.[85] The pages are lavishly illustrated throughout, and the manuscript is obviously an object of great financial worth and social prestige. Although Ellys himself was not a member and was in no way explicitly connected with the Order, his ownership of this beautifully decorated and sumptuously bound item implicitly associates him with the illustrious figures described therein. Similar is a German manuscript Bible in Latin from the thirteenth century, with a sixteenth-century binding featuring St. George and the dragon as well as birds and foliage decoration, along with a set of brass clasps.[86] None of these decorations is useful or necessary for the purposes of reading or worship. This is a marked as a luxury item, with the binding presumably intended to signal the owner's devotion to God. The Bible also embodies luxury in a way that is beyond the aesthetic. The decoration marks this item as responding to a social compulsion rather than a physical necessity, but its very presence in Ellys's collection is also unnecessary: Ellys had numerous other Bibles and did not need this one in order to discover its contents.

The question of luxury exists alongside and interacts with the criteria of artefacts and specimens. Artefacts, readers will remember, are objects that are *observed*. Their significance is drawn from their material form rather than their contents. A specimen is a particular type of artefact that is seen as an archetype or representation of its class and is regarded as an object of rigorous study. Should luxury objects be interpreted separately from these three types of books? According to Appadurai and Berg, to qualify as a luxury an item must belong to a distinct register of consumption characterized by its social significance. In that way some artefacts may belong to the category of luxuries, as books that are dissociated from their

[84] Berg, ' Luxury, the Luxury Trades', p. 175.
[85] 'The Statutes and Ordinaunces of the Most Noble Order of St George Named the Garter Refourmed Explayned Declared and Renued by the Most High Most Excellent & Most Puissaunt Prince Henry Ye Eight by Ye Grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland &c.' ([England], 1589), Blickling Hall, Running number 6848.
[86] '[Bible. ca. 1250].' ([Germany?], [mid-13th century]), Blickling Hall, Running number 6855.

ostensible use as reading material in order to prioritize a social purpose. Artefacts, specimens, and luxuries are all things that are desirable for some reason, be it intellectual, social, material, or aesthetic. But a major distinction between luxury books and specimen books is that a luxury can be produced self-consciously as a luxury, whereas specimen books only become specimens through the behaviours they are met with. Luxuries can enter the life cycle already having been marked as luxuries; specimens require the attention of owners, readers or observers to become marked as specimens.

Thus, the distinction between a specimen book and a luxury book results from their different lenses of value. The value placed on a specimen book is intellectual and rigorously academic. Crucially, specimens require expert knowledge to interpret and cultural competence to properly understand or even to recognize as specimens. The value of Wycliffe's *Dialogorum libri quattuor* is not immediately obvious to an observer without an awareness of its historical significance. A luxury book, on the other hand, is immediately recognizable as such. While the thirteenth century MS Bible requires that the reader know Latin in order to properly consult its contents, its luxury value is entirely separate from its text and requires no cultural competence or knowledge to perceive. Its decoration and appealing binding do not require context to recognize as markers of luxury.

Specimens and luxuries are both sub-types of the broader category of artefacts. An artefact is any object that is observed, and that derives value from its material form. Specimens, as representatives of their type, are certainly artefacts that are observed as objects of historical significance. Luxuries, as objects of social significance, are observed as material manifestations of social, rhetorical and political signals. Artefacts, evidently, can be subject to several lenses of value. It is crucial to note that these different modes of value are not fixed, but can shift over time and over the course of the AIUA cycle. The *Cabinet du Roi* books, for instance, were produced as luxury items and continued to function in that way during Ellys's lifetime, serving to mark him as a man of status with a lifestyle of distinction. And yet today they are much more likely to be interpreted as cultural specimens, representing a period of ostentatious opulence in the court of Louis XIV, and material specimens of fine paper and abundant engravings. Indeed, a specimen must have experienced a shift in its value, usually from informational to observational value. While artefacts, specimens, and luxuries like these make up a minority of the collection, they are numerous enough to be seen as a distinct tier or register of the library. It is evident, then, that in addition to selecting books

for their contents, Ellys also indulged in the pursuit of historically significant books, rare books, books associated with famous former owners, and aesthetically appealing books.

It is not clear whether a two-stranded approach to book selecting was consciously employed, or if Ellys simply bought what he wanted when he wanted it. And yet it is evident that Ellys's selection behaviour exhibited multiple and sometimes conflicting motivations in his simultaneous desire for informational books and artefact books. Regardless of whether Ellys consciously intended to use his luxury objects to advertise his social position, they would certainly have had that effect. Because luxury objects are inherently social signifiers, their function must be to exhibit that social message to all observers. While of course one cannot determine with confidence exactly how Ellys interpreted and valued the books he selected, it is possible to draw likely conclusions. It seems reasonable to imagine that Ellys's books from famous early printers, such as the Estienne and Aldine editions, were regarded as specimens representing the whole (unseen) corpus of their work. Similarly, Ellys's numismatic collections seem to have functioned as specimens for scholarly examination. The Homilies and Psalter manuscripts, too, can be regarded as symbolizing their period and its technology of information. Thus there is an element of information-seeking or -preserving inherent in acquiring and owning these works. But the manuscripts can also be seen as artefacts, valued in their uniqueness and their associated prestige. And certainly the *Cabinet du Roi* books are collectible luxuries, not acting as archetypes to study but as objects of admiration.

The library must also have contained within it books that were selected neither as information carriers nor as artefacts. This may be termed social selection behaviour, and includes books chosen for other people's use. The first example of this behaviour might be the catalogues and reference books identified at the beginning of this chapter, possibly for Mitchell's use in his care for and development of the library. Mandelbrote and Lewis posit that these books were acquired for Mitchell's benefit to instruct him in the management and procurement of a library, and they argue that the collection should be seen as the result of both men's efforts.[87] Despite the paucity of evidence relating to books purchased on behalf of others, it is safe to assume that at least some of Ellys's selection behaviour was motivated by his social circumstances. The difficulty is in knowing the extent of others' involvement and their

[87] Giles Mandelbrote and Yvonne Lewis, *Learning to Collect: The Library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)* (London: National Trust, 2004), p. 26.

influence in the development of the collection. While this is generally not clear, one friend in particular certainly played a major role in the development of the library through his informed advice. Michael Maittaire, the scholar of Classics and typography, may have advised Ellys on occasion on which books to buy. It is clear that Maittaire made use of the library to pursue his own research, and he frequently added notes to Ellys's books remarking on their historical significance, such as in the 1554 Anacreon which he notes was the first book printed by Henri Estienne. Maittaire has also noted in Ellys's copy of Andrew Maunsell's *The First part of the catalogue of English printed books* that 'This Author is very exact, and was at immense pains'. The Blickling Psalter volume, too, bears Maittaire's note assigning it a likely date of the eighth century. While it is not clear whether these books were actually bought on Maittaire's advice, their selection for the library seems to have solidified the bond these two men formed based on their mutual interest in the history of books and printing. The library's copy of the Hoym catalogue provides further evidence of Maittaire's role in selection decisions.[88] Next to lots 4713 (four of Cicero's works from the mid-sixteenth century) and 4735 (twelve works on anti-Catholic subjects, mainly Jesuits in France, dating from the mid-seventeenth century), Mitchell has written 'Maittaire'. These books are not present in the Blickling library nor are they listed in Mitchell's catalogue. This suggests either that they were purchased by Ellys's agent for Maittaire, or that Maittaire purchased them there himself and Mitchell noted this down. Either way, the two men seem to have coordinated or discussed their activities at this large book sale.

The opaqueness of much of Ellys's selection activity is mitigated through foregrounding browsing and selecting behaviour. The above discussion of his choices and priorities demonstrates that Ellys does not fit exclusively into either the scholarly collector mould, motivated by a desire for information, or the materialistic collector mould, striving to enhance his social status through the purchase of collectible artefacts. Ellys's library contains a vast number of books that must have been selected as carriers of desired content, representing topics of scholarly interest. But it also comprises numerous books that must be interpreted as artefacts of material attraction. Even within this category of artefact objects, however, some were certainly regarded as specimens, warranting close, rigorous scrutiny as archetypes of their kind. The boundaries between the different strands of motivation or

[88] Gabriel Martin, *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Illustrissimi Viri Caroli Henrici Comitis de Hoym* (Paris: apud Gabrielem & Claudium Martin, via Jacobæa, ad insigne stellæ, 1738).

patterns of behaviour are fuzzy. One does not preclude or undermine the other, and Ellys seems to have been perfectly comfortable prioritizing both. It is clear that he was motivated by a variety of priorities, and his behaviour exhibits understandable variations.

Active Procurement and Purchasing

So far, this discussion of acquisition behaviours has focused mainly on private activities of browsing and selecting: the expression of personal choice and private motivation in advance of actual acquisition activities. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with the processes of procurement, or the actual acquisition of books, which has a much stronger connection with external factors and Ellys's social context. While continuing to focus on behaviour and activities, the discussion will introduce a distinction between active and passive procurement in the development of the library. Active procurement refers generally to purchased items; this section will discuss Ellys's activity at book sales in Britain and on the Continent, his interaction with booksellers, books he contributed to through subscription, and one item that was possibly commissioned. It will examine how Ellys deployed his financial resources to procure books and cultivate helpful relationships.

Without a doubt, Ellys was a major presence at book sales and auctions of the early eighteenth century. In a letter to Mackie in May 1732 Mitchell describes how he '[has] been, & still [is], very busy about books, Sir Richard Ellys having lately bought as many as come to some hundreds of pounds, which belonged to a Nobleman lately dead'.[89] Many of his books contain names or other ownership marks of former owners, many of which can assist in discerning where Ellys purchased them. Although the 1732 sale Mitchell mentions cannot be definitively identified, it must have been a splendid and bountiful collection of obvious interest to Ellys. Mitchell notes that 'the most part are very pompous, as being the best editions, large paper, and very neat; many of them are Prints, among which are several of the Cabinet du Roy.'[90] Even before he inherited from his father in 1727 he participated

[89] 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 17 May, 1732', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.33
[90] ibid.

enthusiastically at book sales, spending what must have been a lot of money to purchase numerous books. He purchased more than ten books at the sale of Charles Bernard's library in 1711, which can be identified now from the inscription 'Caroli Bernardi'. Five years later, he bought at least six books from the library of Gilbert Burnet, which still feature Burnet's bookplate on their flyleaves. He bought several books from the personal collection of Etienne Baluze (1630-1718), librarian to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, whose library was sold in 1719, including Paul Leopard's *Emendationum et miscellaneorum libri viginti* which features the inscription 'Stephanus Baluzius Tutelensis'.[91]

When the library of the barrister and bibliophile Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725) was sold over the course of the 1720s and 30s, Ellys participated eagerly. It is not clear exactly how many books in his library came from Rawlinson, but it was certainly well over a hundred and may be closer to two. Many of these bear Rawlinson's distinctive 'C&P' (collated and perfect) mark. In many ways Rawlinson was a collector similar to Ellys, eager to acquire both information and artefacts, and it makes sense that Ellys would have enjoyed the opportunity to purchase from this collection already curated by a respected colleague. 1724 saw the sale in London of the books of Louis-Henri de Loménie, comte de Brienne (1635-1698), by the booksellers Woodman and Lyon. There are about twenty books in Ellys's library that bear the armorial binding of Loménie de Brienne, featuring the distinctive crest of a woman (possibly a mermaid) holding a mirror tooled in gilt, typically on red morocco. There are another twenty or so books in the library that are likely to have come from Loménie de Brienne, which are identifiable by their small square labels on the front pastedown. These have a large letter in red manuscript above a smaller two-digit number in black. While these cannot be definitively traced to Loménie de Brienne, they are certainly characteristic of his books and seem too distinctive to be a coincidence. Altogether, the Loménie de Brienne books are relatively numerous and indicate Ellys's significant participation at the sale and interest in its contents. It is a shame his copy of the catalogue does not survive, as it might shed further light on his interest in this collection. Further purchasing continued after Ellys inherited his father's estate in 1727, notably with the sale of Jean-Baptiste Colbert's own books, more than a decade after the sale of his librarian Baluze. The Colbert library was sold in three sales: at Paris in 1728, and at London in 1729 and 1735. Colbert was director of the French royal

[91] Paul Leopard, *Isembergensis Furnij, Emendationum et Miscellaneorum Libri Viginti* (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1568); 'Etienne Baluze', in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1951), pp. 23–25.

library from 1661-1683, and gained a significant number of books for his personal library when 1200 duplicates were removed from the royal collection in 1671. His illustrious career continued when he became Minister of Finances under Louis XIV, and later Secretary of State for naval affairs.[92] Colbert's books are marked 'Bibliothecae Colbertinae' in the hand of Baluze, and about twenty-five of them are to be found on the shelves of Blickling today.

Despite these and other books that were purchased at identifiable sales, the vast majority of the library's books give no clue as to their date of acquisition. As such, it is not possible to remark definitively on any changes to Ellys's collecting behaviour over the course of his life. It is not even clear whether his inheritance made a significant difference to his purchasing activities. While he didn't indulge in the most expensive, most beautiful, or rarest items of the sales in his early years (for example, declining the Gutenburg Bible offered at the sale of Loménie de Brienne), he also acted with comparative restraint at later sales like those of Hoym and Colbert. Although his purchases from the Rawlinson sales are, for the most part, inexpensive, mundane, and even of poor quality, this shouldn't be taken as evidence of an impecunious youth: rather, his overlapping interest with this other collector rendered the Rawlinson sales an opportunity to acquire informational assets. It also confirms that Ellys's book-buying was more than just the extravagant pastime of a rich man disposing of vast sums merely to amuse himself with treasures.

Regardless of his abstemious disavowal of the most expensive and famous items, Ellys's considerable activity at sales across Europe must certainly have cemented his reputation as a book buyer of consequence and reputation and we can see him as a member of an increasingly international 'club' of scholars and book buyers. This status can also be seen when examining the specific process of his participation in the Uilenbroek sale in Amsterdam in 1741, which is the only book sale from which any documentary evidence of Ellys's activities remains. Ellys engaged the services of Robert Trevor (1706-1783) to act as his agent at this sale, as can be seen in a letter from Trevor to Mitchell giving 'an account of what I have done at Uilenbourck's [sic] Auction in execution of Sir Richard's

[92] 'Jean-Baptiste Colbert', in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), pp. 187–90; 'Jean-Baptiste Colbert', *University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections* <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/archivespecialcollections/digitisedcollections/provenance/jean-baptistecolbert/> [accessed 27 April 2022].

Commissions'.[93] Trevor was not a professional book agent. At the time of this sale, he was employed as Minster-Plenipotentiary to the Dutch Republic.[94] He was also a second cousin of Ellys. Evidently, Ellys had the social capital or social status to engage this busy and important emissary as an auction agent (indeed, Trevor's letter opens with his apology for the lateness of his message due to his duties 'attending upon our Friends from Hanover'). Mitchell (or Ellys) also evidently had the knowledge and expertise to instruct Trevor from afar. Trevor identifies several books he has successfully bid on and 'hope[s] that they will find their way e'erlong to the good Company in Bolton Street' (Ellys's address in London). He makes reference also to the sale of the library of Lord Oxford (i.e. Edward Harley, who died in 1741), and suggests that Mitchell and Ellys must be consumed by planning their activity at that auction.[95] Unfortunately, Ellys was prevented from bidding at Harley's sale by his own death three weeks before it began. Trevor's letter illuminates Ellys's reputation: the 'good company' suggests that his library is well-known, and the reference to the Harley sale indicates that Ellys is a major buyer whose library is on par with Harley's.

Aside from this employment of his relative Robert Trevor, Ellys also cultivated relationships with professionals in the field of bookselling and buying. Evidence in the books suggests that, in addition to participating directly at book sales and auctions, Ellys frequently purchased items from the stock of a bookseller who had bought them from the sale. One example is found in *Antiqui rhetores Latini* (published by Plantin in 1599) which is bound together with Nicolas Rigault's *Auctores finium regundorum* (published fifteen years later).[96] The title page of the *Antiqui rhetores Latini* has the signature 'Caroli Bernardi', which refers to Charles Bernard and presumably marks this book as coming from the sale of his library in 1711, referred to above. However, an annotated copy of the Bernard sale catalogue at Cambridge University Library, which bears not just prices but names of some buyers, identifies the buyer as a 'Mr. Wilson'.[97] Unfortunately, the British Book Trade Index, while identifying many

[93] Robert Hampden-Trevor, 'Letter to John Mitchell, 3 November, 1741', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/17.
[94] William Carr and Martyn J. Powell, 'Trevor, Robert Hampden-, First Viscount Hampden (1706–1783), Diplomatist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27733>.
[95] Johnson and Oldys.
[96] *Antiqui Rhetores Latini...* (Paris: Ex officina Plantiniana: apud Hadrianum Perier, 1599); Nicolas Rigault, *Auctores Finium Regundorum* (Paris: Apud Ioannem Libertum, 1614).
[97] Jacob Hooke, *Bibliotheca Bernardiana: : Or, a Catalogue of the Library of the Late Charles Bernard* (London, 1711); see Cambridge University Library, Munby.d.43.

Wilsons, does not include any who were active in London in this year so the connection between Ellys and this seller is not clear.[98] However, Wilson's interests seemed to align strongly with Ellys's – Wilson bought many of Bernard's works from the Estienne and Aldine printing houses, just as Ellys did throughout his life.

The Hoym sale provides another such example, this one more easily traceable. The Hoym catalogue is found in a large number of British libraries and yet almost none are annotated with the names of buyers. Cambridge University Library, again, is fortunate to have a copy that is annotated with the names of buyers up to page 81.[99] Of the twenty-odd Hoym books at Blickling (identifiable by Hoym's armorial binding stamp), only one is listed in this part of the catalogue: *Tabulae sacrae geographicae* by Augustin Lubin (printed at Paris by Petri le Petit, 1670) is found on page 8 as lot 78. The buyer's name written in the margin is given as 'Vaill.'. Inspection of the surrounding pages indicates that this denotes 'Vaillant', which was in several cases abbreviated to fit into a small space. The Vaillants were a Huguenot family who immigrated to London in 1685, where Francois Vaillant (d.1704?) set up a shop near the Savoy. His business passed to his sons Paul (1671/2-1738?) and Isaac (d.1753), who briefly worked together before Isaac's departure to set up his trade in Rotterdam and The Hague.[100] (Interestingly, the Vaillant family was also associated with Maittaire – his *Annales Typographici* of 1719 was published by Isaac Vaillant in The Hague.)[101] Vaillant's name also appears next to thirty-five other of the 700 or so books listed before page 81 of the Hoym catalogue (although there is no way to know how many he bought after that). Of these, five titles (in addition to the *Tabulae*) can be found on the shelves at Blickling: one an Aldine, one an Estienne, one in a Grolier binding, and two others. This is not sufficient evidence to assume that these five of Ellys's books originated in Hoym's collection – indeed it is more likely to be coincidence that both Hoym and Ellys owned copies – and yet the absence of Hoym's armorial binding does not necessarily exclude him as a former owner.

[98] Bodleian Libraries, 'British Book Trade Index' <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 27 April 2022].
[99] Martin; see Cambridge University Library, Adv.d.75.4.
[100] Bodleian Libraries, 'Vaillant', *British Book Trade Index* <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/details/?traderid=130463> [accessed 23 March 2018].
[101] Michael Maittaire, *Annales Typographici Ab Artis Inventae Origine Ad Annum MD.* (Hagae-Comitum: apud Isaacum Vaillant, 1719).

If Ellys purchased his Hoym books from M. Vaillant instead of directly from the sale itself, then the presence of the Hoym catalogue in Ellys's library is more mysterious: why acquire and keep a copy of this catalogue if Ellys's browsing activity was actually directed toward the stock of Vaillant's shop rather than the library of Hoym himself? This could suggest that Ellys procured the Hoym catalogue sometime after the sale had taken place, intending to use it as a reference book list rather than an instrument of selection, or it could suggest that Ellys perused the catalogue before the sale and directed Vaillant as to which books to buy specifically for his own use. Whether Vaillant acted as an agent on Ellys's behalf at sales and auctions, or bought items there to then resell them from his London shop is not clear. It seems most likely, however, that Ellys or Mitchell visited Vaillant's shop in London to peruse his wares and/or his catalogues. There are several books that do not originate from the Hoym sale that Ellys likely bought from Vaillant: for example, Aristophanes's 1525 *Kōmōdiai Ennea* printed in Florence, which bears Mitchell's inscription of 'Vaillant' on the front flyleaf.[102] This was not published by a Vaillant printer, so the name indicates that the book passed through the hands of a member of the family acting as a bookseller. Ellys was apparently something of a returning customer, and it seems that Ellys trusted Vaillant's professional knowledge, judgement, and experience, and made use of Vaillant's already-curated stock when making decisions about selection and procurement. Ellys and Vaillant cultivated and maintained an ongoing relationship which was of obvious benefit to both.

The library contains evidence of another mutually-beneficial relationship between Ellys and a different bookseller, in the form of a letter. The *Histoire de l'Estat de France tant de la République de la Religion: Sous le Règne de François II* contains within it a letter in Mitchell's handwriting (although signed 'R.E').[103] The letter is obviously to a bookseller, and requests that he send 'le petit Livre, dont Vous faites mention, intitulé Hist: de France sous François II & d'en marquer le Prix'. He promises to give the money to whoever brings the book. Below this, in a different hand, is the seller's reply: 'Mr. de Thou a traduis Presque mot pour mot, la plus grande partie de cette histoire. Elle en a été composée par quelques Huguenots. Le prix en est quatre Shellings.' The verso of the letter reads, in Mitchell's hand, 'A Monsr. Bosset', and presumably the reply is in the hand of this M. Bosset. Bosset,

[102] Aristophanes, *Kōmōdiai Ennea [Aristophanis comoediae novem]* (Florence: Per hæredes Philippi Iuntæ, 1525).
[103] Louis Régnier de La Planche, *Histoire de l'estat de France, tant de la république que de la religion sous le règne de François II* ([Geneva?]: s.n., 1576).

apparently, is a French bookseller engaged, like Vaillant, in an ongoing client-seller relationship with Ellys and/or Mitchell. Nowhere else (in WorldCat, Bibliothèque nationale de France, or Jisc's LibraryHub) is mention made of the 'quelques Huguenots'; it is instead identified as being the anonymous work of Louis Régnier de La Planche. Regardless of his accuracy, however, this letter again confirms that Ellys was engaged in interpersonal relationships with book sellers, and trusted their experience in assisting him with selection and procurement activities.

Further personal relationships are found in Ellys's active acquisition behaviour in the many books he subscribed to. Honeybone and Lewis identify fifty books that he subscribed to between 1720 and 1742, and many of these, such as the two-volume edition of Horace's *Opera* published from 1733-1737 by John Pine, can still be found on the shelves of Blickling library.[104] Similar is the direct financial support Ellys provided to the scholar Bernard de Montfaucon in exchange for his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, published in Paris in 1739.[105] A slip stuck to the front pastedown of volume one contains an inscription in de Montfaucon's hand:

> J'ai reçu de M. le chevalier Richard Ellys Baronet Anglois vingt quatre livres d'avance pour l'ouvrage intitulé Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum nova en deux volumes in folio, que je promets de lui remetre des qu'il sera imprimé, moiennant la somme de douse livres qu'il donnera de sur plus fait ce 25. juin 1734. fr. Bernard de Montfaucon

This is more than Ellys simply paying in advance for the work – he has provided a sort of stipend to the author to assist him with preparing the book. While different from the relationship between Ellys and a bookseller, the subscription relationship again is a relationship based on transactions, and the exchange of different forms of capital. Both relationships feature, on the one hand, a participant with knowledge and expertise of bookselling or an academic topic, and, on the other hand, a participant with money. In transactions with booksellers or authors, Ellys exchanged financial capital for intellectual and material capital. These interactions also furnished him with social and cultural capital, as they

---

[104] Michael Honeybone and Yvonne Lewis, 'Ellys, Sir Richard, Third Baronet (1682-1742)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Ed.*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8729> [accessed 9 October 2017].; Horace, *Opera* (London: Aeneis tabulis incidit Iohannes Pine, 1733).
[105] Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova* (Paris: Apud Briasson, via Jacobæa, ad Insigne Scientiæ, 1739).

enhanced and publicly displayed his reputation as a man of taste, intellect, and financial capacity and as a strong supporter of scholarship.

Like subscribing to books for publication, commissioning bespoke books is an active procurement behaviour involving putting up money in advance rather than purchasing an available or offered book. While there is no definitive documentary evidence of Ellys doing this, it is certainly possible that he did. One book in particular seems likely to have been commissioned by Ellys: the Blickling Haggadah, also referred to as the Leipnik Haggadah.[106] While Ellys was certainly not Jewish, he read Hebrew and had a known interest in Jewish culture and the Hebrew origins of the Christian Bible. This stunning volume was written and illustrated in Altona, Hamburg by Joseph ben David of Leipnick in 1739 or 1740. It features sixty-six illustrations, many of full- or half-page size, in bright colours and gold. It contains the full text of the Haggadah, a Jewish text used during the Passover Seder, and is based on the editions printed in Amsterdam in 1695 and 1712.[107] A very similar manuscript, produced by the same scribe at the same time, was also owned by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) and is now in the British Library (Sloane MS 3173). It is not clear where Ellys and Sloane acquired these matching works, but it has been suggested they may have been commissioned from the scribe himself.[108] It is certainly clear that no one owned the book previously to Ellys. It may, of course, have been produced on spec and bought by Ellys and Sloane. But if bespoke, it suggests a possible relationship between the two men. If this is the case, it is a revealing glimpse into Ellys's active procurement behaviours, and demonstrates the deployment of significant wealth to gain an object of beauty and prestige.

It is clear that Ellys engaged in multiple behaviours of active procurement, including his participation at sales and auctions, his relationships with booksellers, his subscriptions to books of interest, and possibly even the commissioning of bespoke works. This demonstrates solidly that he was very much engaged in the field of books, understanding how they circulated, how they were valued, and how to successfully and strategically procure them.

---

[106] '[Haggadah for Passover with the Commentaries of Isaac Abravanel ('Leipnik Haggadah')].' ([Altona], 1739), Blickling Hall, Running number 6929.
[107]Emile Schrijver, 'An Unknown Passover Haggadah by Joseph Ben David of Leipnik in the Library of Blickling Hall', *Zutot*, 2.1 (2002), 170–80 <https://doi.org/10.1163/187502102788638978>; '"Next Year in Jerusalem!": A Haggadah at Blickling Hall', *Apollo: The International Art Magazine*, November 2004, pp. 66–69.
[108] Schrijver, 'An Unknown Passover Haggadah', p. 171; Barker, *Treasures*, p. 126.

While he was not a professional bookman, he possessed significant knowledge about books and the book market and engaged the services of professionals to support his own activities when necessary. Although his library wasn't as huge as Harley's or other major collectors of the period (and is now hardly noticed in studies of early eighteenth-century collectors), he should certainly be seen as on par with his contemporaries in terms of the behaviours involved in developing his library and acquiring his books, and his role in the community of knowledgeable book buyers.

Passive procurement

Although presumably most books in the Blickling library were deliberately acquired, typically as purchases, it is nevertheless clear that some (perhaps many) arrived in the collection without Ellys actively procuring them. These books, passively acquired through family members, as gifts, or as dedication copies, are separate from the more typical browsing-selecting-purchasing pattern. Instead, they reveal much more about Ellys's social position and circumstances than about his private interests and financial activities.

Ellys's library contains several books that clearly came to the collection from members of his family. Eight books in the library contain the signature 'Thomas Hussey' or the inscription 'Thomas Hussey his booke'. This very likely refers to Thomas Hussey, second baronet of Doddington Hall, Lincolnshire (1639-1706), the father of Ellys's first wife, Elizabeth Hussey (1687/8-1724). One of these, the *Dissertations* of Maximus of Tyre, printed at Oxford in 1677, appears in two copies at Blickling, one with the inscription 'T: Hussey' and the other with no marks of ownership.[109] This duplicate suggests that Ellys had acquired a copy on his own either before his marriage or before Hussey gave his copy to his daughter or son-in-law. Eight other books have evidence of the Hussey family: several have armorial bookplates or stamps of the family, and one has the name 'John Hussey'. The 1715 *Philosophical principles of religion: natural and revealed: in two parts* by George Cheyne bears the inscription 'Eliz H', which likely refer to Ellys's wife Elizabeth herself.[110] The Hussey books do not seem to fit within a particular category or pattern, and range from a Greek New

[109] Maximus of Tyre, *Logoi [Dissertationes]* (Oxford: E theatro Sheldoniano, 1677).
[110] George Cheyne, *Philosophical Principles of Religion Natural and Revealed: In Two Parts* (London: Printed for George Strahan at the Golden-Ball in Cornhil, over against the Royal-Exchange, 1715).

Testament printed by Robert Estienne in 1546, to Edward Stillingfleet's 1665 *Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion*, to *A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty, or Artificiall Hansomenesse : In point of conscience between two ladies* by John Gauden (London, 1656).[111] It does not seem likely that a wholesale transfer of books from Hussey's library to Ellys's was planned or undertaken; rather, these books arrived separately over time and represent a familial closeness between the two houses. Doddington Hall remains in private hands and it is not clear whether the arrangement was reciprocal and some of Ellys's books are there; it seems more likely perhaps that Ellys chose or was gifted these books because of his interest in their printer or subject.

Ellys's own family was also the sources of several books in the library. Along with his estate, Ellys inherited his father's library of over 1200 books.[112] Fewer than ten books currently at Blickling bear any sign of ownership by his father; these are signed 'Sr Wm Ellis' or 'Sir Wn Ellis'. There is also one book (*An Historical Defence of the Reformation* by Jean Claude) with the inscription 'J: Farrow pr: 5s. Lond: Nov: 16. 1683', which is probably Joseph Farrow (d.1692), the chaplain of Ellys's father Sir William; it seems the chaplain's book made its way into his employer's collection and thence to his son's.[113] Although with less commitment than his son, Sir William tended towards the Presbyterian persuasion and it is unsurprising that this book owned by his chaplain was passed down to his son. Despite the paucity of inscriptions linking Blickling's books to Sir William, one of the few pieces of archival material indicates that many more originated in his library. The Dashwood collection in the Bodleian Library contains a small number of items relating to Ellys, which landed in the Dashwoods' possession when Ellys's second wife re-married into that family. Among these is a list of books entitled 'Catalogue from Nocton', giving details of several hundred books. The books are listed in their order on the shelves, where they are arranged by size,

---

[111] *Tēs Kainēs Diathēkēs hapanta [Nouum Testamentum] Ex bibliotheca regia.* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regij, typis Regijs, 1546); Edward Stillingfleet, *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion* (London: Printed by Rob. White for Henry Mortlock, 1665); John Gauden, *A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty. Or Artificiall Hansomenesse. In Point of Conscience between Two Ladies.* ([London]: Printed for R: Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-Lane, 1656).

[112] Honeybone and Lewis.

[113] Jean Claude, *An Historical Defence of the Reformation in Answer to a Book Intituled, Just-Prejudices against the Calvinists* (London: Printed by G[eorge]. L[arkin]. for John Hancock, at the Three Bibles over-against the Royal Exchange in Cornhil; and Benj. Alsop, at the Angel and Bible in the Poultrey, 1683).

with each book given an individual running number. Locations are also given (such as 'the sixth shelf in the cabinet above the larder'), which give an intimate view of how Nocton's books were arranged and stored.[114] Next to about two hundred of these listed books is the note 'Sent to London'. Mark Purcell and Honeybone and Lewis have both identified this as a list of Sir William's books at Nocton that was drawn up on his death, and interpret the 'sent to London' note as indicating items Ellys chose to remove from Nocton to add to his own library in London.[115] This seems a likely explanation, and is valuable evidence of what Ellys chose to do with the sudden injection of over a thousand books into his library. The ones that were sent to London are on a variety of topics but tend towards histories and works about religion, topics Ellys was demonstrably interested in. Regardless of the exact particulars of how family books ended up in Ellys's library, it is certainly clear that a small proportion of the library was made up of inherited items. While this is a very passive form of acquisition activity, there is nonetheless evidence of active selection behaviour in Ellys's treatment of his father's books. While the entirety of his father's library came to Ellys, and all the books were technically his possessions, it is clear that some were valued differently from others, whether materially or intellectually. Those chosen to be 'sent to London' were integrated into his own library and many are still part of the collection. Those that were less desirable presumably stayed at Nocton and perished in the fire there.

Evidence of other books acquired through family connections is sparse, although examples do survive. *An historicall discourse of the uniformity of the government of England* by Nathaniel Bacon, published in London in 1647 with a *Continuation* published in 1672, bear the seventeenth-century inscription 'Johannes Ellys ejus liber. ex dono domini gulielmi Ellys; John Ellys 76/7 [i.e. 1676/7]'.[116] John Ellys, with his very common name, is not easily traceable, but may have been a brother of William. There are two other books from a member of Ellys's family, albeit a quite distant one. Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum libri*

[114] 'Catalogue from Nocton', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/1.
[115] Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library*, p. 220; Honeybone and Lewis.
[116] Nathaniel Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England. The First Part. From the First Times till the Reigne of Edvvard the Third* (London: Printed for Mathew Walbancke at Grayes-Inne-Gate, 1647); Nathaniel Bacon, *The Continuation of An Historicall Discourse, of the Government of England, Untill the End of the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth* (London: Printed by Tho: Roycroft, for Matthew Walbanck, and Henry Twyford, and are to be sold at Grais-Inne Gate, and in Vine Court Middle Temple, 1651).

quinque, printed at Cambridge in 1718, and Claude Du Molinet's 1679 *Historia Summorum Pontificum per Eorum Numismata* both have bookplates of Sir Robert Pye (1696-1734), fourth Baronet of Clifton Campville in Staffordshire.[117] Sir Robert's great-uncle, Robert Pye (ca. 1620-1701), had married the daughter of John Hampden and was thus distantly related to Ellys (who was Hampden's great-grandson). Sir Robert only succeeded to his baronetcy in 1724 and so the bookplate must have been applied after that, which gives an eighteen-year window for the book to have moved from the possession of Sir Robert to Ellys.[118] Perhaps the two men knew each other and Sir Robert gave or sold the books directly to his distant cousin. But the bookplate in the Cicero volume is defaced, which suggests another owner between Pye and Ellys. It seems that Ellys procured these two works from another source, and perhaps he even chose them because of their associations with his relatives in the Hampden family.

Another way books arrived passively in Ellys's library is through the receipt and exchange of gifts or loans. The presentation and exchange of books served to solidify and codify social bonds, whether personal or formal, and books are thus used as tools of socialization.[119] Not many books in Ellys's collection show evidence that they were gifts or loans, but these few confirm Ellys's position of status among his social contacts. He owned a copy of the 1727 catalogue of Dr Williams's Library, which was founded from the estate of Daniel Williams (1643-1716), an English Presbyterian minister, and was based in Red Cross Street in London.[120] The library served as 'the headquarters of London Dissent', and Williams's influence among Dissenters lasted well beyond his lifetime.[121] Ellys was a Presbyterian

---

[117] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum Libri Quinque. Et Paradoxōn Liber Unus* (Cantabrigiæ: Typis academicis, 1718); Claude Du Molinet, *Historia Summorum Pontificum per Eorum Numismata* (Paris: Apud Ludovicum Billaine bibliopolam Parisiensem, 1679).

[118] 'Item Record: Historia Summorum Pontificum per Eorum Numismata', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Historia%20summorum%20pontificum%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022].

[119] Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[120] *Bibliothecae Quam Vir Doctus, & Admodum Reverendus, Daniel Williams, S.T.P. Bono Publico Legavit, Catalogus* (London: typis Jacobi Bettenham, 1727).

[121] David L. Wykes, 'Williams, Daniel (c. 1643–1716), Presbyterian Minister and Benefactor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29491>.

himself; although it is not clear if he knew Williams personally, he must certainly have known of his reputation. His copy of the Williams library catalogue is in a presentation binding of navy blue morocco with extensive gold tooling, gilt rolling, and ornamental stamps, and the title 'Williams Catalogu [sic]' in gilt on the spine. The records of Dr Williams's Trust indicate that Ellys was among six men to receive a bound copy of the 1727 published catalogue.[122] This would certainly be an appropriate and welcomed present for a Dissenter with a love of books, and likely indicates Ellys's financial support of the Library with this book given as a token of gratitude.

Another gift catalogue is Ellys's copy of the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Royal Library of France, and the accompanying catalogue of the Royal Library's printed books.[123] The two were published in Paris from 1739-1753, with the manuscript catalogue issued in four parts and the printed book catalogue in six. Ellys's library holds only the first volume of each, as he died not long after their release; the volumes were both presented to him in 1741. Both are in French royal presentation bindings of mottled calf with a central stamp of the royal arms of France, decorated with crown stamps, fleur-de-lys rolls, and monograms in gilt. The manuscript catalogue bears the inscription, 'Hoc, cum caeteris ad Bibliothecam Regiam pertinentibus voluminibus, me decoravit Rex Christianissimus. R. Ellys'. The very presence of these volumes in the library signals that Ellys was a man of prestige, reputation, and international renown. His interest in books was known by someone with a position in the French court, if not the King himself (as Mitchell claims in a 1741 letter to Charles Mackie), and his high status was unquestionable.[124] This must have been a magnificent present for Ellys, embodying as it does his interest in books, libraries, and French court culture.

Although it is not in a presentation binding, Ammianus Marcellinus's *Rerum Gestarum* might also be a gift.[125] This work on Roman coins is of obvious interest to Ellys, and his library

---

[122] Alan Argent, *Dr Williams's Trust and Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, Inc., 2022), p. 45.
[123] *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ* (Paris: e Typographia regia., 1739).; Claude Sallier and Pierre Jean Boudot, *Catalogue des livres imprimez de la Bibliothèque Du Roy* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie royale, 1739).
[124] John Mitchell, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 14 March, 1741', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.40.
[125] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum Qui de XXXI Supersunt, Libri XVIII*, folio edition (Leiden: Apud Petrum van der Aa, 1693); *Rerum Gestarum Qui de XXXI Supersunt, Libri XVIII.*, quarto edition (Leiden: Apud Petrum vander Aa, 1693).

holds both the folio and quarto versions of this work, both published in 1693 in Leiden by Peter van der Aa. Blickling's quarto edition is unmarked, but the folio edition has a note inserted, reading: 'To Sr. Richard Ellys, from Mr. Abraham Gronovius, who believed he wanted this book & sends it to him by Sr. Rd's very humble servant. Isaac Lawson'. The book was edited by Jacob Gronov (1645-1716), and sent to Ellys by his son Abraham (1695-1775), librarian at the University of Leiden where Ellys spent time in his youth; Lawson (d. 1747) was a physician and studied at Leiden University.[126] The note does not clarify whether the book was a gift or if Gronov expected payment in return, but it does signify a personal relationship. Ellys was a patron of Abraham Gronov (who dedicated a book to him), and this copy of Ammianus Marcellinus edited by his father might be Gronov's favour in recognition of Ellys's support.

Many of Ellys's known personal associates were other members of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, and there is satisfactory evidence in his library of the codification of his relationships with them through the presentation and exchange of books. Ellys's copy of Lazare de Baïf's *Annotationes in L. II. De captiuis, & postliminio reuersis: in quibus tractatur de re nauali*, printed by Robert Estienne in 1549, has the inscription 'Beaupreo Bell Donum Amicissimi Viri Thomae Hull. A.M. 1729'.[127] Beaupré Bell was a prominent member of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society and shared Ellys's interests in antiquarianism and numismatics, and the two men certainly knew each other. While no Thomas Hull is identified as a member of the Society, it seems likely that this is the man listed in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* who gained an MA from Jesus College in 1729 and was ordained the following year at Lincoln.[128] The connection to Lincolnshire, the shared interest in antiquarianism, and the presence of this book in Ellys's library may suggest a circle of information exchange between these three men, two of whom were formally connected through the arrangements of the Society.

The relationship with another member of the Society, William Stukeley, also proved fruitful in acquiring books for the library. Stukeley was an antiquarian, natural philosopher, and

---

[126] G.S. Boulger and Michael Bevan, 'Lawson, Isaac (d. 1747), Physician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16199>.
[127] Lazare de Baïf, *Lazari Bayfii Annotationes in L. II. De Captiuis, & Postliminio Reuersis, in Quibus Tractatur de Re Nauali* (Paris: ex officina Roberti Stephani, typographi regii, 1549).
[128] John Venn and J.A. Venn, 'Hull, Thomas', *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 428.

physician, and practised in Boston and Grantham, the Lincolnshire regions represented in Parliament by Ellys. There are several volumes at Blickling that bear Stukeley's inscription. Stukeley's own 1734 work *Of the Gout* (London, 1734) was certainly a gift and bears the author's presentation inscription to Ellys on the front pastedown: 'Doctissimo Dn. Richardo Ellys Barrto. Patrono, Observantiae ergô D. Auctor'.[129] The other six books inscribed by Stukeley were printed before 1700 (four of them before 1500): the majority are works of ancient history and Classics, subjects well-represented in Ellys's collection and which Stukeley undoubtedly knew would interest him. Of particular note is Marcus Welser's *Fragmenta tabulæ antiquæ* published in Venice in 1591 by Aldus Manutius the younger, which bears the inscription 'Ws Stukeley M.D. 1727' on its title page.[130] Whether these books were gifts or loans, it is nonetheless clear that they were books of value and indicate Stukeley's great respect for Ellys. Several of the Stukeley books at Blickling are in the characteristic binding of Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke (1656-1733), and bear Stukeley's note that he acquired them in 1722. Ellys's library also contained at least two other books from the Earl of Pembroke, identifiable by his binding: Silius Italicus's *Punica* of 1471, and the *Works* of Apuleius from 1488.[131] It is possible that Stukeley and Ellys coordinated their purchasing efforts from the Earl of Pembroke's library and made joint use of the spoils, solidifying their social bond and shared respect by the exchange of mutually-admired books.

There are two other books in Ellys's library that may be related to William Stukeley. The first is *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, translated by John Trevisa and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in about 1496.[132] Several missing pages and words are supplied in manuscript, and several different hands have added extensive manuscript marginal notes as well as lengthy notes about the translator, the author, the paper maker John Tate, and other printed editions of the work. The initial blank leaf has inscriptions in several hands including

---

[129] William Stukeley, *Of the Gout: In Two Parts. First, A Letter to Sir Hans Sloan, Bart. about the Cure of the Gout ... Secondly, A Treatise of the Cause and Cure of the Gout* (London]: pr. for J. Roberts, 1734).
[130] Marcus Welser, *Fragmenta tabulae antiquae, in quis aliquot per Rom. prouincias itinera* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1591).
[131] Tiberius Catius Silius Italicus, *Punicorum Liber Primus Incipit* (Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471); Apuleius, *Opera* ([Vicenza]: Impraessa per Henricum de Sancto Vrso in Vicentia., 1488).
[132] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatib[Us] Re[Rum]* ([Westminster]: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496).

Thomas Emerson, Vicar of Wisbech (d.1635) and 'Liber Gulielmi Beckett 1715' (i.e. William Becket, 1684-1738). A friend of Stukeley, Becket was a surgeon and an antiquarian, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an original member of the Society of Antiquaries.[133] The second of these books loosely connected to Stukeley is the *Statutes of King William* printed in Edinburgh by Thomas Finlason in 1609.[134] An inscription on the front fly leaf reads 'Mr St. Amand No. 1 in Panfield Court'. This seems to refer to James St. Amand (1687-1754), a book collector and classical scholar whose library and coin collection were left to the Bodleian and Lincoln College, Oxford.[135] Stukeley was one of the executors of his will, and was certainly also connected with him in life. While there is no definitive evidence to confirm that these two books arrived in Ellys's library through Stukeley, they are evidence of a network of scholars and intellectuals interested in history and Classics who participated in the exchange of ideas and books.

Ellys's associates beyond the Spalding Gentlemen's Society were also a source of the passive acquisition of books. Less is known about these relationships, as little documentary evidence survives, but the library obligingly provides some few clues as to with whom Ellys associated and indulged in the discussion and exchange of knowledge. One such is Sir Thomas De Veil (1684-1746), a London magistrate notorious for his enthusiastic application of the law in the maintenance of public order.[136] Blickling contains a manuscript copy of his *Observations on the practice of a Justice of the Peace*, which was later published posthumously in 1747.[137] The work is in De Veil's hand and is signed 'TD 10th March 1737'. Accompanying this is a letter, also in De Veil's hand, reading:

---

[133] Sidney Lee and Michael Bevan, 'Becket, William (1684–1738), Surgeon and Antiquary', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1900>.
[134] *Auld Lawes and Constitutions of Scotland, Faithfullie Collected Furth of the Register* (Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Finlason, 1609).
[135] W.P. Courtney and M.J. Mercer, 'St Amand, James (1687–1754), Classical Scholar and Book Collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24477>.
[136] Sugden, 'Veil, Sir Thomas de (1684–1746), Magistrate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38735>.
[137] Thomas De Veil, 'Observations on the Practice of a Justice of the Peace, Intended for the Use of Such Gentlemen as Design to Act for the County of Middlesex or Citty and Liberty of Westminster' (London?, 1737), Blickling Hall, Running number 6871; Thomas De Veil, *Observations on the Practice of a Justice of the Peace Intended for Such Gentlemen as Design to Act for Middlelex [Sic] or Westminster* (London: printed for E. Withers at the Seven Stars, next the Inner-Temple-Gate, Fleet-Street, 1747).

> Sr. My wife having been excessively ill of the goute in her stomach, has hindered me from sooner performing my promise. If the little observations I have made on the practice of a Justice of the Peace, prove usefull to any of your friends and have your approbation it will give me great pleasure who am with great respect, truth and gratitude, Sr your most obedt. most devoted and most humble servant Tho. DeVeil. 10 March 1737.

While Ellys is not addressed by name, it is near certain that it is he to whom De Veil initially sent this manuscript. Nothing more is known of the relationship between the two men, but both resided in Westminster and obviously had an ongoing connection. It is unsurprising that Ellys may have been sympathetic to De Veil's attempts against moral turpitude. The letter indicates that De Veil anticipated a positive reaction from Ellys, and subtly suggests that Ellys might show it to his other friends and acquaintances. This confirms that Ellys must have been well-placed at the centre of a social circle of like-minded men, among whom circulated books, manuscripts, ideas and discussion.

Further evidence of Ellys's reputation and position within bibliophile circles is found in his copy of the *Histoire de l'origine et des premiers* [sic] *progrès de l'imprimerie* by Prosper Marchand, printed in the Hague in 1740.[138] The book contains an autograph letter, dated 17 April 1740, to Ellys from Marchand himself, who begins by explaining that he knows through Robert Trevor of Ellys's interest and expertise on the history of print. Marchand explains that he has taken the liberty of sending this recently-published work to Ellys, and requests that he place it amongst his other books. The author continues by outlining how he has personally cut up the 'Feuilles d'Additions' and pasted the slips into the relevant pages—he notes that he has done this in only seven or eight copies. Marchand further honours Ellys by requesting that he oblige the author with the judgements of himself and his 'divers Amis'. Marchand is, like De Veil, familiar with Ellys's reputation, his library, and his social position, and is keen to ingratiate himself with this man of influence. It seems that instead of asking for money in exchange for the book, he desires a payment in the form of a favour: that Ellys might share his work with his circle of associates with similar interests and knowledge. Another relationship to figure prominently in the discussion of passive book procurement is Michael Maittaire, already noted above. In addition to providing advice on selection

[138] Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l'origine et des prémiers [Sic] progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague: Chez La Veuve Le Vier, et Pierre Paupie, librairie, 1740).

decisions, Maittaire gave several books to Ellys as gifts or loans. One of these is a copy of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, edited by Maittaire and published in London in 1721.[139] The Blickling copy has Maittaire's presentation inscription to Ellys and is missing the list of the subscribers; it seems that this copy was one of the non-subscription copies that Maittaire kept for his own use. It is possible that Claude Héméré's *De academia Parisiensis* was also a gift from Maittaire to his friend and sometime-patron.[140] The fly leaf bears a rather confusing inscription: 'viro excellentissimo' in Ellys's hand, followed by 'Mich. Maittaire Dr' in Maittaire's hand, and finally 'R.E.' in Mitchell's hand. If 'viro excellentissimo' is interpreted as the dative form, then presumably this book was given to Maittaire from Ellys. If instead it is ablative, then it was likely given by Maittaire to Ellys. It seems unlikely that Ellys would refer to himself as 'viro excellentissimo', so presumably the book originally belonged to Maittaire, who wrote his name in it before he decided to give it to Ellys, who then noted that it came from this other most excellent man – of course the book's current presence in the library makes this hard to doubt. The close interpersonal relationship between Ellys and Maittaire is thus reflected in the library. They were friends but also intellectual associates, sharing interests and ideas, and there is evidence of Maittaire's respect and admiration for his friend in his 'viro excellentisimo' note. It is clear that Maittaire's role in the development of the library and in Ellys's intellectual life was known to be significant by future generations of the library's owners, as Mitchell's catalogue was originally erroneously attributed to Maittaire (the nineteenth-century binder even tooled Maittaire's name on the spine).

Frustratingly minor though the evidence of gifts, loans, and exchanges is, it is nonetheless clear that the passive acquisition of books figured in many of Ellys's social interactions. The presence in the library of books from Stukeley, De Veil, Maittaire and other of his associates can illustrate his interpersonal connections and social web. It is likely that the passive procurement of books in Ellys's library is part of a multi-way exchange. This hints at a large and lively practice whereby Ellys acquired works intended to circulate more widely among his network. Further exploration of how Ellys employed his books in his social circle will be undertaken in chapter three, Use.

---

[139] Homer, *Batrachomyomachia Graece Ad Veterum Exemplarium Fidem Recusa*, ed. by Michael Maittaire (London: Typis Gulielmi Bowyer, 1721).
[140] Claude Héméré, *De Academia Parisiensi: Qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis, liber* (Paris: Sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1637).

A final means by which books arrived passively in Ellys's library was as dedication copies. As with gifts and exchanges, the dedication of a book reifies and formalizes an interpersonal relationship. There are at least seven books dedicated to Ellys that are now on the shelves at Blickling: Thomas Boston's *Tractatus Stigmologicus*; Edmund Calamy's *The Principles and Practice of Moderate Nonconformists*; Johann Kaspar Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*; Abraham Gronov's edition of Aelian's *Varia Historia*; Michael Maittaire's edition of *Anacreontis edition altera cum novis versionibus*; Theophilus Lobb's *A Practical Treatise of Painful Distempers*; and John Horsley's *Britannia Romana: or the Roman antiquities of Britain.*[141] The first five are in presentation bindings of red or blue morocco with extensive gold tooling and gilt edges. Lobb has not written a dedicatory inscription but Mitchell notes that the volume is 'A present from the author'. Horsley's dedication letter charmingly expresses his gratitude to Ellys:

> Your kind and early disposition to encourage this undertaking, was a great obligation upon the author; and I gladly embrace the first publick opportunity of making a grateful acknowledgement. The work now implores your protection.

Relevant archival material is, unsurprisingly, scarce, but there is a letter still extant relating to Thomas Boston's work. Gabriel Wilson, minister at the parish of Maxton in the Scottish borders, wrote to Ellys on behalf of Boston about Boston's magnum opus on Hebrew accents and their interpretation in the Bible.[142] Wilson's letter, full of flattery, entreats Ellys to read Boston's manuscript and offer financial support to assist its publication. Wilson notes that it

---

[141] Thomas Boston, *Tractatus stigmologicus, hebræo-biblicus: Quo accentuum hebræorum doctrina traditur variusque eorum, in explananda S. Scriptura, usus exponitur* (Amsterdam: apud J. Wetstenium & G. Smith, 1738); Edmund Calamy, *The Principles and Practice of Moderate Nonconformists with Respect to Ordination, Exemplify'd* (London: printed for John Clark, 1717); Johann Kaspar Suicer, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus,* Editio secunda, priori emendatior, elegantior&longe auctior (Amsterdam: apud R. & J. Wetstenios & Gul. Smith, 1728); Aelian, *Varia historia,* ed. by Abraham Gronovius (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud S. Luchtmans & J. A. Langerak, 1731); Anacreon, *Anacreontis Editio Altera Cum Novis Versionibus, Scholiis, et Notis*, ed. by Michael Maittaire (London: Excudebat Gulielmus Bowyer, 1740); Theophilus Lobb, *A Practical Treatise of Painful Distempers With Some Effectual Methods of Curing Them, Exemplified in a Great Variety of Suitable Histories* (London: Printed for James Buckland, at the Buck, in Pater-Noster Row, 1739); John Horsley, *Britannia Romana: Or the Roman Antiquities of Britain* (London: printed for John Osborn and Thomas Longman, 1732).

[142] P.G. Ryken, 'Boston, Thomas (1676–1732), Church of Scotland Minister and Theologian', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2943>; Gabriel Wilson, 'Letter to Sir Richard Ellys, 1728', Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire Archives, D/X/396/7.

will be necessary to publish abroad, due to the specific technical requirements needed to accurately depict the Hebrew accents. Wilson appeals to Ellys's religious nature, describing the book as 'a work of General & Common Interest to Christianity, namely, for clearing and Establishing the true sense of the old T[estament] Text; and on that account well Deserving the Countenance and Encouragement of all the Lovers of Learning & Divine Revelation'. He also appeals to Ellys's desire to advance learning and scholarship, 'Knowing your Sense of & Disposition towards Publick Usefulness to Mankind'. Evidently Wilson was successful in his application for funds, as the book was published a decade later in Amsterdam by J. Wetstenium and G. Smith. It was dedicated to Ellys and the dedication copy remains in his library.[143] The library's copies of books dedicated to Ellys, and especially the documentary evidence of Boston's work, strongly indicate Ellys's reputation as a man of status, means, and discernment. These dedications indicate a direct patronage relationship between Ellys and the authors, which is publicly displayed. It is no surprise that the works Ellys chose to associate so publicly with his own reputation are on subjects of interest to him, particularly theology and Classics. Given that his own library covered these subjects well, it is not unlikely that some dedications may have functioned also as a display of gratitude for allowing the use of his books.

It is clear that, while the majority of Ellys's books were acquired through the browsing-selecting-purchasing behavioural pattern, a not insignificant number were procured more passively, whether as gifts, through inheritance, or as dedicatee's copies. Inherited books demonstrate Ellys's material position in society as the heir of a large estate and fortune. Books given as gifts, loans, or through exchange act as evidence of social capital and Ellys's central role in his intellectual network, and as cultural capital by furnishing his image as a learned man. Books dedicated to him serve more widely as a public recognition of his social (and sometimes financial) capital, and enhance his reputation as a lover of learning and supporter of scholarship. These passively acquired books did not require an investment of financial capital, but were rather a recognition or embodiment of social and cultural capital that was demonstrable to his contemporaries as well as to modern researchers.

[143] Wilson's letter is also interesting in its reference to Ellys's recent visit to Maxton in Scotland, when he called on Wilson. Nothing further can be found about their relationship or Ellys's travels in Scotland, but it would be fascinating to know more about his involvement with the Scottish church and Scottish theology.

Conclusion

Examining acquisition of books as a distinct behavioural stage or process in this way allows us to see the myriad social transactions and diverse motivations at play as books were brought into the library. It is evident that the social context is relevant throughout the acquisition process, which supports a social history approach to studying libraries. This must encompass the roles of other people: as motivators, instructors, and competitors when browsing other collections and sales; as readers and academic experts when making selections; as professional experts, agents, and sellers when making purchases; and as givers, lenders, and dependents in the passive accumulation of books. It seems that to call Ellys's collection a 'private' library is very much a misnomer, as the term falsely assumes a library built solely by and around one man. None of the identified acquisition behaviours are private – all involved other people to some degree.

Ellys's acquisition behaviour was also, crucially, visible to other people. His public reputation and persona were very much based on his library. The library acted (and continues to act) as a metonymic representation of Ellys's identity, as can be seen in the way he was addressed by Gabriel Wilson and Prosper Marchand, and in the way history has remembered him. Ellys was certainly aware of his reputation for learning gained through association with his books, and he made use of it to furnish his public persona. This enabled him to employ his social status and interpersonal relationships for his own benefit – for example, in his connection with his fellow Lincolnshire man William Pownall, which likely cemented his purchase of the Blickling Homilies and Psalter manuscripts. It is possible to be cynical about this, seeing Ellys as something of a cunning social manipulator, but it is fairer to say simply that he was aware of his reputation and social capital and deployed them as necessary. The library shows no evidence of pretense; it seems that Ellys's reputation was, although based on an observation of his material possessions, an accurate assessment of his character and interests. His support of scholars and their research into topics of interest to him, such as Thomas Boston and his work on Hebrew accents in the Old Testament, provides strong evidence that much of the acquisition process involved a desire to gain, create, or preserve information.

We can also see, from examining Ellys's behaviour around the development of his library, the ways in which various forms of capital—for instance, financial and social—were invested to harvest different forms of capital—such as material, intellectual, and cultural. Ellys invested significant personal resources in the development of his library. Most obvious of these is the vast financial capital he laid out in buying his books. While there is no documentary evidence of his particular financial circumstances, it is nonetheless obvious that Ellys judged it worthwhile to exchange monetary resources for intellectual and material resources. Whatever his income and his other expenses, furnishing the library must have been a priority in Ellys's financial behaviour. He also evidently invested time in actively seeking and procuring books. Developing the library was not a short-term activity but was an ongoing and continual project over the course of Ellys's lifetime. He began to acquire books in his youth, and by the time he inherited his father's estate and money at age forty-five had already gathered a vast collection from numerous dateable sales and auctions. In addition, over the course of his lifetime he and Mitchell must have devoted copious amounts of time to developing the requisite knowledge and relationships to successfully develop such a large and varied library. The development of these relationships demonstrates another investment made for the acquisition of this library: that of social capital. Ellys and Mitchell evidently valued the professional expertise of booksellers and other agents in the field, and trusted their judgement in the curation and selection of stock to peruse. These relationships were of obvious mutual benefit, and some (such as that with the bookseller M. Vaillant) seem to have been ongoing. Cultivating these relationships involved the deployment of social capital (alongside financial) to reap the benefit of intellectual and material capital.

This thorough examination of Ellys's acquisition behaviour, including his private browsing and selecting pursuits and his socially-oriented active and passive procurement activities, illuminates both patterns and variations in the acquisition stage of his books. It is clear that there is a complexity of purpose to this library, with Ellys acting from multiple and varied motives. Certainly the acquisition phase involved ample information-seeking behaviour, with several well-represented topics of interest identified in the library. As well, however, there is evidence of artefact-seeking behaviour in Ellys's procurement of numerous books of material interest. A third set, of specimen books, seems to have been targeted as archetypes of material interest for academic study. These multiple strands of the library demonstrate that Ellys cannot be easily categorised as merely a scholarly reader or a lover of curiosities. Instead, it is clear that such categories are insufficiently nuanced when the entirety of a collector's

acquisition activities are examined together. The implications and themes identified in this chapter – forms of capital, interpersonal relationships, social status, and the complex purposes behind the behaviour of the past – are all aspects of the social history of this library. The remaining chapters, which will focus on the next three stages of the library's life cycle, will continue to examine and discuss these themes.

Chapter Three: Integration

A library, as we instinctively feel, is something different from just the 12,000 or so books on the shelves in the Long Gallery at Blickling Hall. The process of integration is what takes those 12,000 separate books and turns them into a single, unified collection – a meaningful whole that is more than the sum of its parts. Although acquisition, including the study of the book trade and the migration of books between collections, is perhaps the phase that receives the bulk of scholarly attention, in a lot of ways integration is more valued subconsciously. There is a natural desire to see a library as a complete collection, be that in an institution or in private hands, and a sense of sadness when libraries are broken up and sold off. This is nothing new – Ellys's own copy of the 1680 second edition of Johannes Lomeier's *Ecclesiastae Zutphaniensis de bibliothecis liber singularis* has a lengthy manuscript note (in an unknown hand) about the purchase of the Barocci manuscripts, a group of Greek manuscripts collected by Francesco (1537-1604) and Iacopo (1562-1617) Barocci and brought to England in 1628 by Henry Featherstone.[1] The inscription begins 'that famous library of Giacomo Barocci a gentleman of Venice consisting of 242 Greek MS volumes is now bro't into England by Mr Fetherstone the stationer. Great pity it were if such a treasure shoud [sic] be dissipated & the books dispersed into private hands', reminding us that for centuries the integrity of a collection has been valued and its dispersal mourned.

Integration is the initial treatment each book receives as it joins the library, and the phase comprises many identifiable behaviours and activities designed to welcome each new book to the collection and create from them a singular library. As such examining behaviours in the integration phase of a book's life cycle can tell us much about the owner's attitudes to the books he bought and the single entity he wished to create from them. One obvious integration activity is adding a mark of ownership to the books. This can be as simple as the collector writing his name on the title page or adding a bookplate, but can also include more obscure marks of ownership such as ciphers or other codes. Some owners went so far as to write details of the date and place of purchase and the price. These ownership marks visibly associate the book with the owner, and create a common feature across disparate books.

[1] Johannes Lomeier, *Ecclesiastae Zutphaniensis De Bibliothecis Liber Singularis*, Editio secunda, priori multò auctior, addito rerum indice locupletior (Utrecht: Ex officina Johannis Ribbii, bibliopolae, 1680).

Binding is another activity central to the integration process. Even books already in a serviceable binding could be rebound in a particular style: the obvious example of this is Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) whose large collection of books were all bound in a matching design creating an eye-pleasing uniformity on his shelves. Other owners might have their armorials applied to the covers of their books, as they did to other possessions; like writing one's name, this again visibly marks ownership and associates the book with the owner, although the identification of the owner requires a viewer to be familiar with their owner's coat of arms. This is obviously a display of status as well as identity, as the armorial binding demonstrates the owner's armigerous family and his ability to afford a stamped binding.

A library catalogue or shelflist is another fundamental facet of integration (also not exclusive to books: registers or inventories of other household goods are found from centuries before). Keeping a running list of the library contents allows an owner to peruse his collection without taking each book off the shelves. In addition, a list of all the books allows him to lend books to his friends and associates while making sure none go missing. The purpose of a catalogue to facilitate use is especially important when it comes to a library on a large scale. While information about a small collection of books can be kept in the owner's head, and reliably recalled when looking for a particular book or genre, a library of great size could not be comprehensively known even to its owner and the escalation of book production in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and consequent huge collections, necessitated accurate catalogues.[2] A catalogue is essential to facilitate all but the most superficial use of the library by representing the contents in an easily digestible way – nowadays, a large library without a catalogue would be unthinkable (and unusable) to a serious researcher. Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley underscore the centrality of this, noting that a library's 'accessibility and usefulness depend entirely on the people responsible for its existence and maintenance – and particularly the often unsung compilers of catalogues!'.[3] Ellys and other collectors like him could not possibly have memorized the contents and location of all the many thousands of books in their libraries, and therefore needed some external aide-memoire to lead them to

[2] P. S. Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume II 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 212–37 (p. 219).
[3] Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, 'Introduction: The Changing World of Libraries – from Cloister to Hearth', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume 2: 1640–1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–6 (p. 4).

what was required at a given moment. This also meant that the library could be used by readers other than the owner, who could explore and make use of the books in a manageable and useful way.

In addition to cataloguing, classification of the books is an aspect of integration closely tied to use. Grouping books into classes makes it easier to explore an area of interest and find a desired book. While modern professional librarians make use of several established and standard classification schemes, a private library can be divided into whatever categories the owner desires. The classification process therefore serves to further associate the books with their owner, and with his needs and interests as a reader and scholar. Classification is most frequently by subject, but categories can also be drawn up around other meaningful features of books: for example, books from the same former owner can be grouped together, as can books of the same size or published in the same country. These categories can be manifested in a number of ways; often physical arrangement on the shelves is based on classes, and it can also be expressed in the ordering of the catalogue.

Analyzing Ellys's and Mitchell's behaviour in the integration process reveals a library with a multiplicity of facets and purposes. Tracing the evidence of integration activities shows where and how Ellys spent time and money on his collection, and what his priorities were for its presentation to the outside world. An overview of the integration process of Ellys's library will complicate notions of luxury, status and distinction, and examining the various integration behaviours will reinforce the difficulty of reconciling Ellys's library with previous definitions of libraries and collectors. Mitchell's unique system of integration will be studied and will reveal itself to be part of this library's social history. This history will then be examined in terms of how it fits into the wider social context of the early eighteenth century, first by considering the library as a personalized expression of Ellys's interests and priorities. This personalized integration system will then be shown to consolidate and externalize Ellys's position and character, building and reinforcing his image and reputation based on the distinction established by the library. Finally, integration activities will be connected to contemporary debates about the ownership and management of knowledge, to demonstrate how the intimate history of a single library connects to and embodies its social circumstances.

System of integration

From the time Mitchell took up a full-time position with Ellys in 1730, he undertook extensive work to integrate his employer's enormous collection. Perhaps his greatest contribution is in producing the catalogue of Ellys's books. The very fact of a catalogue is significant, as it demonstrates an intention to facilitate use through organisation. The original catalogue of this library is fascinating and bears extensive description, as the system guiding the structure and level of detail in its entries can reveal much about the priorities of Ellys as owner and Mitchell as integrator. Entries typically include the author's name, title, place of publication, publisher, year, format and a shelfmark, although the shelfmarks are almost all scribbled out.[4]

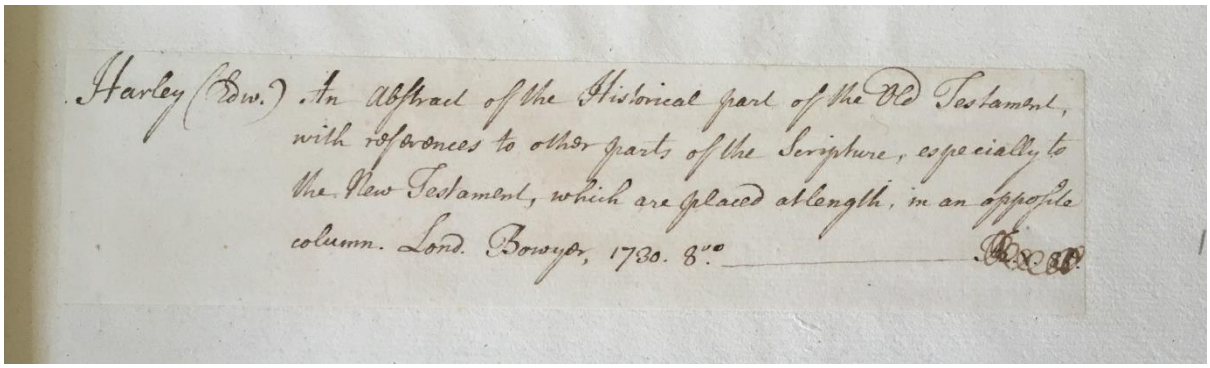

Figure 2 Typical catalogue entry including author, title, publication details, format and scribbled out shelfmark.

In addition to bibliographic details, entries occasionally include other information (for example a description of the binding), although the catalogue is evidently intended primarily as a finding aid and research tool, rather than a source of information about the physical items in the library. These details were seen as less integral to the description of the book and were generally not included in the catalogue. While this is certainly different from modern cataloguing in typically excluding any copy-specific information in the entry, it seems to share the concept of the *ideal copy* from modern cataloguing practice, in which a bibliographic description is given as if a work were perfect and complete.[5]

[4] Shelfmarks and the physical arrangement of the books on the shelves will be discussed in greater detail below.
[5] See for example G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Concept of "Ideal Copy"', *Studies in Bibliography*, 33 (1980), 18–53.

The catalogue, while an invaluable remnant of the integration system, is unfortunately extremely challenging to comprehend. It is inordinately frustrating to use as it was extensively interfered with in the nineteenth century. The original sheets of paper were cut up into smaller slips and pasted into eight large, leather-bound volumes. The slips are not of a standard size, and can have as few as one or as many as dozens of entries on them. Many slips have partially-trimmed words or letters in the left margin – not part of the body of the entry, these were obviously not deemed important by the nineteenth-century assembler and there is no way now of telling what their original purpose may have been. Many of the slips were cut up in such a way as to trim off portions of words and letters, and the lines of writing on adjacent slips now do not match up. This certainly means that details of entries have been trimmed off and the order of entries changed. It is, unfortunately, certain that some whole entries have been lost. Looking through the pages of the album books sometimes shows that the slips have writing on their verso sides, which are now pasted down. This writing is not just scribbles, as in a few places it can be determined that they are catalogue entries which are now entirely obscured. The peculiar exception to this is found in the list of works of the prolific writer William Prynne (1600-1669). The library contains dozens of his works, as does the catalogue – in fact, two and a half entire pages of the catalogue are devoted to his oeuvre. Two of these pages are taken up by individual full-page slips, pasted in only at the edge by the gutter, meaning the slips can be turned over and both sides seen. It seems that the compiler of the new catalogue shared Ellys's interest in Prynne and his desire to accurately list his works. But it is not at all clear why the rest of the eight volumes of the catalogue, apart from these two pages, feature slips with only one side visible. If the nineteenth-century rearranged catalogue was intended to be useful for navigating the collection, then these invisible entries are inexplicable. It suggests that by the time this work was done, the slip entries were past being practical and had been overtaken by some other type of catalogue or shelflist, although no catalogue is extant from before the mid twentieth century.

Since the catalogue was compiled iteratively rather than all at once, as is certain based on additions and alterations made to many entries, it might make sense that the pages were cut into slips well before the nineteenth century in order to facilitate the addition of new works into the catalogue. There is some slight evidence to support this. The slip with entries for 'Animals, Memoirs for a Natural History of them…' and 'The Annals of K. James & K. Charles I…' looks as if it carries on with entries for 'Annals of Q. Elizabeth…' and 'Anomala verba Graeca…', but in fact the last two entries are on a different slip which has

been pasted carefully together with the slip above.[6] The writing of the top slip overflows onto the lower slip, suggesting they were originally a single piece of paper, and yet there is an overlap of about two millimetres visible between the two slips – they were already in two pieces with this small overlap when they were originally written on. There are also several peculiar instances of slips that haven't found their original overlapping neighbours, which look as if the writing has overflowed onto an adjacent slip and yet the paper isn't cut there. Could it be that the slips were already cut up in Ellys's day and were always intended to be separable? The possibility is there, and yet it seems unlikely given the non-standard size and shape of the slips now pasted into the albums. It also does not explain why the entries would have been written with such little regard for staying within the boundaries of the slips to keep the writing visible; this catalogue, being quite a laborious product of the integration process, was intended to be used and its integrity preserved, and cutting off sections of words undermines this.

Even more confounding is the occasional blank slip pasted in, often with discernible writing on the verso side. This seems ludicrous – why paste a slip writing side down, rather than simply discard it? It is possible that there was writing on the face of these blank slips originally and that it was erased at some point after the volumes were assembled. Under the entry for James Foster, for example, it appears that two records have been removed. It is difficult to see, but it is just visible that the paper has been washed or scraped where something was eliminated. This suggests that a work was removed from the library and the entries were obliterated to keep the catalogue up to date. This could explain the blank slips, if the writing was erased after the slips were pasted into the new volumes. And yet there are other entries in the catalogue that do not correspond to items in the library now, and these entries are not erased or removed.

---

[6] Claude Perrault, *Memoir's for a Natural History of Animals: Containing the Anatomical Descriptions of Several Creatures Dissected by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris* (London: Printed by Joseph Streater, 1688); Thomas Frankland, *The Annals of King James and King Charles the First: Both of Happy Memory* (London: Printed by Tho. Braddyll, for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1681); John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England; during the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (London: Printed for John Wyat, 1709); Guillaume Morel, *De verbis anomalis commentarius, in quo singula verba, aut anomola, aut alioqui difficilia ordine alphabetico ad sua themata reuocantur* (Paris: Apug Guil. Morelium typographum Regium, 1558).

Another curious aspect of the catalogue is that it is written not only by Mitchell but by at least four other hands. It is possible that the catalogue was begun by someone else (the second most common hand after Mitchell's is a large elegant script, which may have initiated the cataloguing process) and taken over by Mitchell when Ellys hired him. But there is evidence to suggest that the different cataloguers were working simultaneously. Many slips have entries written in multiple hands –evidence that the team of cataloguers worked together on the same pages rather amalgamating than their work later. Nevertheless, Mitchell certainly seemed to be the cataloguer-in-chief, as his handwriting appears more than any other. In addition, he alone adds to or alters the entries of other hands, as with the entry for the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* where he adds the note 'with figg.' to the original record in the elegant hand.[7]

The presence of a single duplicate entry also indicates that the catalogue was produced by more than one person simultaneously. Although the library had duplicates of several works, only one work is (visibly) entered in duplicate in the catalogue: the 1554 Estienne edition of Anacreon. Both entries read 'Anakreontos Tēiou melē. Anacreontis Teij odae. Ab Henrico Stephano luce & Latinitate nunc primùm donatae.',[8] and yet the two are in different hands (one is Mitchell's). (Both copies remain in the library and are now shelved next to each other.) The two slips are now pasted on the same page but separated by entries for two other works from the same publisher. Since elsewhere duplicates are acknowledged by noting '2 copies' next to the entry, it is unclear why a separate entry would be produced when the second copy of the book was acquired unless this was an oversight or miscommunication between the two cataloguers responsible. This is presumably a mistake in the cataloguing process, but the mistake obligingly suggests to us the workings of the system.

There is more evidence of multiple library workers in the books' letter codes, which are the most immediately obvious feature tying the collection together. Noticeable right away when perusing the library, these are small capital letters written in the front of most of the books. An M in Mitchell's hand is by a vast margin the most common code across the library, which

[7] Royal Society (Great Britain), *Philosophical Transactions, Giving Some Account of the Present Undertakings, Studies, and Labours of the Ingenious, in Many Considerable Parts of the World* (London: printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, printers to the Royal Society, 1665-), I–XXXVI.
[8] *Anakreontos Tiou mele [Anacreontis Teij Odae] Ab Henrico Stephano Luce & Latinitate Nunc Primùm Donatae.*, trans. by Henri Estienne (Paris: Apud Henricum Stephanum, 1554)

is positioned always in the top left corner of the front flyleaf recto. But four others occur with enough frequency that they must have something to do with the Ellys collection and shouldn't be considered a coincidence. The most common of these other codes is a large elegantly-formed D (perhaps associated with the elegant hand in the catalogue), which is found at the top right corner of the front flyleaf recto. Some other books instead have a capital A with a pronounced foot on its right leg. While this A is found on the front flyleaf recto, its position there is more variable than the M or D codes, appearing anywhere on the top half of the page. Two other letters are occasionally found in the books too: a capital R with an almost-closed lower lobe (some closely resemble a B) followed by a colon, and a graceful cursive S centered at the top of the flyleaf recto. The R code is the most variable with respect to position, appearing anywhere on the front flyleaf or the title page, and often on an angle as if it has been hastily and carelessly scribbled.

None of these five letter codes ever appear in the same books, which again suggests that all five were purposefully applied to the Blickling collection. It does not appear that these books were added to the collection after Ellys died, and the publication dates demonstrate that they were not all acquired by Ellys before he hired Mitchell as his librarian in 1730. It seems reasonable to assume that these were the same aides who also contributed to the catalogue, but it is impossible to compare a handwriting sample from the catalogue to a single upper case letter, and so their identities remain a mystery. While very distinctive of this collection, these codes don't seem to function as a mark of ownership. If they were intended to mark ownership, one would expect them to be an E (for Ellys) rather than an M (for Mitchell) or another letter. The letter codes certainly do not function as any sort of security device, as any other ownership mark might, as they do not appear in all the books in the collection (sets of multiple volumes, for example, often have a code in the first volume only leaving the rest blank). Instead, the purpose of the codes is internally focused, as much facilitating the work to integrate the collection as it is an aspect of the integration system itself. For the most part, it seems that the M code also signals that a work has been entered in the catalogue, as Giles Mandelbrote and Yvonne Lewis suggest.[9] There are very few works with an M code that do not appear in the catalogue and the absence of some is explained by those slips pasted writing side down.

[9] *Learning to Collect: The Library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)* (London: National Trust, 2004), p. 23.

The different codes seem to be evidence of the working practices of the library, again suggesting that more than one person was involved in the integration process at a given time. This is supported by the evidence of multi-volume sets, which sometimes have more than one letter code in their different volumes. There is, for example, a handsome set of books on topography, in which are found three different letters spread over the volumes. The books are folio-size with blue-stained edges, and bound in vellum with stamps and tooling in blind on the upper and lower boards. All have hand-lettered spine titles in black ink, and the front flyleaf of each volume has an inscription (all in the same unknown hand, presumably that of a former owner) giving the title and a shelfmark. There is a bookseller's code on the lower board of each in a red crayon. Although not published as a multi-volume work, the books are obviously related to each other and come from the same former owner whose writing appears on the flyleaves, and were evidently acquired for Ellys's library all at once. Some volumes are marked with an M, some with a D, and some with an A. Likewise the eighteen volumes (containing thirty-six issues) of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, which were also certainly acquired together based on a price included for all eighteen volumes: some bear an M code and some a D code.[10] This must be evidence of collaboration in the laborious integration process, with several librarians working simultaneously to mark the multiple volumes of these large sets. The most likely explanation is that Mitchell had several aides who also worked to check each incoming book and used their initials to mark it. Employing multiple library workers would indicate that Ellys did not hesitate to spend money on the care and management of his collection. Rather than spending all his money on acquisitions, he also prioritized the integration of his books in order to produce the library that he desired.

Examining the letter codes in multi-volume sets is useful as they can also give some hints of how and when a series of books was acquired. Most of these sets were presumably bought and integrated as full sets rather than separate volumes: they are entered in the catalogue under a single entry, and the letter code is usually followed by the number of volumes (as in figure 3, of 'M 2 vol') written into the first volume of the set.

[10] Royal Society (Great Britain), I–XXXVI.

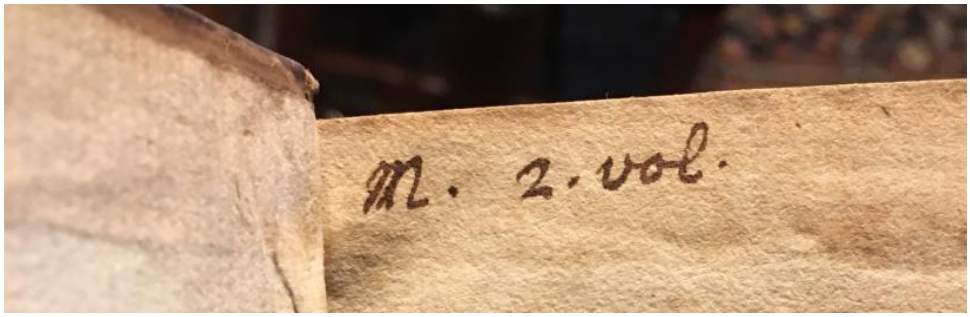

Figure 3 Mitchell's M code and volume note

However, the letter codes indicate several circumstances where multi-volume sets were acquired (or at least integrated) volume by volume rather than all together. Erik Pontoppidan's *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* is a set of three volumes published from 1740-41, and the code in volume one reads, as would be expected, 'M 3 vol.'[11] However, volume three also has an M code, which it need not have according to Mitchell's system of marking only the first volume. This suggests that volume three was acquired first and marked with the code, and when the set was completed later with volumes one and two a new letter code was applied in the first volume. With the three-volume set *Recueil historique d'actes, négociations, mémoires et traitez depuis la Paix d'Utrecht jusqu'au Second Congrès de Cambray inclusivement* it is the later volumes that were acquired subsequently: the flyleaf in volume one has the code 'M 10 vol', with the 10 crossed out and replaced by 12 in a different ink.[12] These discrepancies in the letter codes of multi-part sets provide crucial information about the timeline of the acquisition and integration phases in a book's life cycle. While it is unlikely that Mitchell was suddenly seized with the urge to handle each book and add his initial to it at a time well into his employment with Ellys, there is only very oblique evidence in the collection to indicate definitively that integration was an ongoing process and not something done all at once. Crucially, this updating of the letter codes proves that the integration process followed immediately after a book's acquisition and was updated later if need be. Integration activity was ongoing and constant rather than a one-time project.

[11] Erich Pontoppidan, *Gesta et vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* (Leipzig and Copenhagen: Sumptibus Iacobi Preussii, 1740).
[12] Jean Rousset de Missy, *Recueil historique d'actes, négociations, mémoires et traitez depuis la Paix d'Utrecht jusqu'au Second Congrès de Cambray inclusivement (jusqu'à celle d'Aix-la-Chapelle).*, 21 vols (The Hague; Amsterdam; Leipzig, 1728-54). Ellys's collection contains only twelve of the twenty-one volumes, the rest being published after his death.

Many of Mitchell's codes are accompanied by brief notes identifying any collation and printing errors. These collation notes accompany the M code on the flyleaf, and in multi-volume sets are to be found in the first volume only, such as in the *Miscellaneous Works* of John Greaves where the collation note in volume 1 refers to an error in volume 2.[13] Most of these copy-specific notes (to use a term from modern cataloguing) are very brief, as in the 1476 edition of Lactantius's *Firmiani de diuinis institutionibus aduersus gentes rubrice primi libri incipiunt*, in which is found Mitchell's note 'Two leaves transposed, viz. the last of the 6th & the first of the 7th book'.[14] This is a fairly small problem of collation – an error that could easily be discovered from looking at the catchwords and would not cause inordinate confusion in reading – and yet Mitchell still frequently remarks on this type of small mistake. These copy-specific notes demonstrate that instead of signaling ownership, the letter codes function as an assertion that the book has been examined and is found to be complete and correctly collated. This is revealed by the syntax surrounding some of these M codes. In Joannes Drusius's 1618 *Ad loca difficiliora Iosuae, Iudicum, & Samuelem commentarius liber,* for instance, the flyleaf has the note 'M. But sheet Nnn. or p. 465-472. is wrong folded'; indeed, the collation is imperfect as gathering Nnn has been misbound.[15] The word 'but' here proves that the M code asserts a correct collation and its statement of accuracy is here modified. Some of these copy-specific notes identify very small details. Desiderius Erasmus's *De libero arbitrio diatribe, siue Collatio* of 1524, for example, bears Mitchell's note 'There are some few words wanting in p. 13, 14. Otherwise complete'.[16] Dumont's 1726 *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens…* has evidence of even greater effort: a slip of paper has been inserted inside the front cover of volume 1 with a lengthy list in Mitchell's hand of detailed collation errors next to his code 'M. 8 Tom 15 vol.'[17] The volumes are covered in a temporary paper binding and the edges are not evenly trimmed, which would have made it somewhat cumbersome to examine each page. This suggests that the volume

[13] John Greaves, *Miscellaneous Works* (London: J. Hughs…, 1737).
[14] Lactantius, *De Diuinis Institutionibus Aduersus Gentes Rubrice Primi Libri Incipiunt* ([Rostock]: Per fratres presbiteros et cl[er]icos co[n]gregationis domus viridisorti ad s[an]c[te]m Michaelum in opido Rostocken[si] p[ar]tium inferioris Sclauie, 1476).
[15] Joannes Drusius, *Ad Loca Difficiliora Iosuæ, Iudicum, & Samuelem Commentarius* (Frankener: excudebat Fredericus Heynsius Typographus. Sumptibus Iohannis Iohannis bibliopolæ Arnhemiensis, 1618).
[16] Desiderius Erasmus, *De libero arbitrio diatribē siue collatio* ([Basel]: Apud Ioannem Frobenium, 1524).
[17] Jean Baron de Carlscroon Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, 8 vols (Amsterdam ; The Hague: chez P. Brunel, R. et G. Wetstein, les Janssons Waesberge, et l'Honoré et Chatelain. A la Haye, chez P. Husson et Charles Levier, 1726).

was to be sent for proper binding and that Mitchell's note was meant to assist the binder in finding and reordering the misbound pages.

Very occasionally a copy-specific note refers to something other than collation or printing error. The second edition of Bernard de Montfaucon's *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* contains Mitchell's note: 'NB. The owner of this book was at some pains to get the plates of the first edition to joyn with the text or explication of the second edition'.[18] Again, this is evidence of Mitchell's intense scrutiny of the books, and suggests an ability to undertake bibliographical research. This is particularly impressive given that the first edition of the work is not held at Blickling; Mitchell would presumably have had to consult an external source or expert to determine how the plates joined with the updated text. The copy-specific notes in Cicero's *Opera: cum delectu commentariorum*, a set of nine volumes published in Paris between 1740 and 1742, while revealing the order of acquisition, also suggest an external source for Mitchell's collation information.[19] The first volume has Mitchell's notes: 'M. 9. vol. all compl.' and: 'vol. 1, 2, 3'. The fourth volume has his note: 'M. vol. 4, 5, 6', and the seventh has: 'M. vol. 7, 8, 9'. These volumes evidently arrived in three batches of three books each and Mitchell applied his M code as soon as they arrived, adding his final note '9. vol. all compl.' once the full set had arrived. Unlike the first six volumes, the last three have not been cut open: likely accounted for by Ellys's death in the year of their publication. This suggests that the pages of arriving books were not cut immediately during the integration process but were left for the reader. It also raises an important question: why did Mitchell add his M code to signify completeness, if he did not open the pages to check? It suggests he wasn't always basing his collation notes on his own information and his own checks, but on an external (trustworthy) source telling him whether a book was complete and noting any printing errors. Mitchell, as discussed above, was part of book-buying networks and had associates in the business; he likely discovered this information from sellers or other librarians that he knew. These copy-specific notes are found

[18] Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures.* (A Paris: Chez Florentin Delaulne, 1719); Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures ...*, Seconde edition, revue et corrigée. (Paris: Chez Florentin Delaulne, la veuve d'Hilaire Foucault, Michel Clouiser, Jean-Geoffroy Nyon, Etienne Ganeau, Nicolas Gosselin, et Pierre-François Giffart, 1722).
[19] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Opera: Cum delectu commentariorum* (Paris: apud Joan. Bapt. Coignard, Hipp. Lud. Guerin, Joan. Desaint, & Jac. Guerin, et Londini, apud Paulum Vaillant, 1740-42).

only in Mitchell's handwriting and only next to Mitchell's letter code, and do not appear with the D, A, S, or R: codes. This pattern, along with the overwhelming ratio of M codes to other letters, suggests that Mitchell held a special position in the integration process. It is clear that to him fell the majority of the work and his were the bibliographical expertise and the professional connections.

In addition to the system of collation notes next to the M code on the flyleaf recto, many of the books have a note in Mitchell's hand on the flyleaf verso. The simplest of these identify an anonymous author, as in *De origine et incrementis typographiae* by Johann Heinrich Leich, where Mitchell's note 'Leichius' appears at the top of the flyleaf verso opposite the title page.[20] Even when an author is known but is not named on the title page, as in the 1716 *Della Scienza chiamata Cavalleresca*, where the author's name Francesco Scipione Maffei is printed at the end of the epistle dedicatory, Mitchell writes 'Maffei' on the flyleaf verso.[21] When unable to identify an author, Mitchell adds a short title opposite the title page. This may be a phrase or a single word of the beginning of the title. Adding these notes, especially when based on an author named in the text or a title printed in the work, seems pointless – the information is already easily available to the reader. But the consistent placement suggests that they are not intended for the reader. Instead, these identifying notes are an integral aspect of the integration system, facilitating the cataloguing process, use of the books, navigation, and an intertextual approach to reading: in short, Mitchell is using these short notes to indicate the *access point* in the slip catalogue. 'Access point' is a term adopted here from modern librarianship, indicating the key terms linked to given records. For example, an author's name is an access point to entries for all the works they have written, and a series title is an access point to entries for all the works in a series.[22] Although potentially related to classification, access points retrieve positions in the catalogue, not positions on the shelf. This is the reason for Mitchell's author and title notes on the flyleaves: they give the access point for the work, and therefore show where to look in the catalogue for the full record. Where not otherwise marked, the default access point is the author's surname and the work will be listed under that access point in the catalogue together with all other works by the same author.

---

[20] Johann Heinrich Leich, *De Origine et Incrementis Typographiae Lipsiensis Liber Singularis...* (Leipzig: In aedibus Bern. Christoph. Breitkopfii, 1740).
[21] Francesco Scipione Maffei Marquis, *Della Scienza chiamata Cavalleresca libri tre.* (Rome: Presso Francesco Gonzaga in via Lata, 1710).
[22] See for example Anne Welsh and Sue Batley, *Practical Cataloguing: AACR, RDA and MARC 21* (London: Facet, 2012), chapter 4 'Access points and headings'.

Anonymous authors, then, are identified to provide an access point which is written on the flyleaf verso.

As can be seen in Figure 4, the catalogue entries are laid out with the access point alone in the left margin and the rest of the bibliographic details indented.

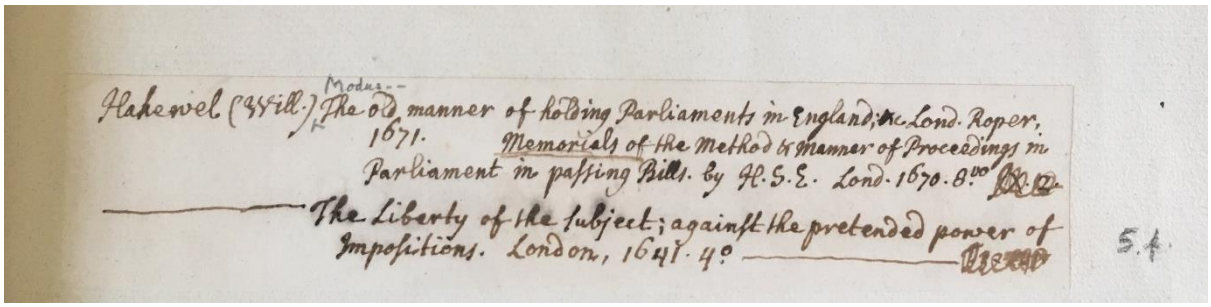

Figure 4 catalogue entry for William Hakewill (Hakewel), showing access point

Each access point is usually given only once, with subsequent works listed below with a horizontal line in the left margin to indicate the same access point: in this case, multiple works by the same author. Interestingly, the different hands that contributed to the catalogue do not add works to each other's access points by using a line in the margin, but instead begin by writing the same access point again. These duplicated access points suggest that the cataloguers were not adding to each other's work by writing on the same page but were instead starting a new initial entry for the first work they catalogued under each new access point. This is surprising and inexplicable, as elsewhere the cataloguers seem to have been collaborating on the same pages of the catalogue. Access points are used differently where a work is not easily connected to a catalogue entry; for example, where the author's name is not known the title serves as the access point and full bibliographical details can be found recorded under the first word or words of its title. A few of the flyleaf verso notes make it obvious that they function as access points, for example, the 1648 *Otia sacra optima fides.* The work was written anonymously, and Mitchell has not identified an author (although a twentieth-century hand has identified the author as Mildmay Fane, 2nd Earl of Westmorland).[23] The flyleaf verso has the note 'under Otia Sacra': the word 'under' signifying that this has a title main entry and is to be found literally under that term in the catalogue.

[23] Mildmay Fane Earl of Westmorland, *Otia sacra optima fides* (London: Richard Cotes, 1648).

It might seem obvious, to anyone who knows the rules of the system, that an anonymous work is found under its title. Why bother then to include the access note? In fact, adding a title note in this standard position is part of the system, indicating that the main entry for the work is under the title; it is not the wording of the access point that is relevant, but the very fact of its presence.[24] There are exceptions to this system. Some works with a known author still have a title access note and appear with their main entry recorded under the title rather than the author. For instance, *Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian prince: or, The self-taught philosopher*, by Ibn Ṭufail, Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Malik (d.1185), has the access note ʻHai Eb'n Yockdan' on the flyleaf verso, indicating a title main entry: indeed, the work is recorded fully under the title in the catalogue.[25] The reasons for this aren't clear, but the deviation from standard procedure indicates that Mitchell purposely made the decision to enter this work under its title rather than its author. (It is possible that Mitchell thought Hai Eb'n Yockdan was the author's name, but the title page makes clear that the author is Ibn Tufayl.) One reason for a title main entry, even when an author is known, is for works by multiple authors. Unlike in modern cataloguing, where the first author is used as the main entry point, Mitchell entered these works under the title. *Psychrolousia: or, The history of cold-bathing, both ancient and modern* has the access note 'Cold-Bathing' on the flyleaf verso; full details, including the names of the authors Edward Baynard and Sir John Floyer, are found in the catalogue under the title access point.[26]

The system of integration employed in Ellys's library was, evidently, functional and robust. Mitchell was able to adapt his cataloguing practices to suit a variety of circumstances, such as anonymous authors and multiple authors of a single work. The consistency and predictability of this system facilitated use by all readers and users of the catalogue. That Ellys employed a librarian, and presumably empowered him to create this complex system of integration,

[24] This is the equivalent of adding a 0 as the first indicator in a 245 field with no 1XX field when producing a MARC21 catalogue record.
[25] Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Malik Ibn Ṭufayl, *The History of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian Prince, or, The Self-Taught Philosopher, Written Originally in the Arabick Tongue by Abi Jaafar Eb'n Tophail* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell and William Thorp, 1686).
[26] John Floyer and Edward Baynard, *Psychrolousia: Or, The History of Cold-Bathing, Both Ancient and Modern*, The fifth edition (London: Printed for William and John Innys, at the West-End of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1722).

firmly demonstrates Ellys's commitment to and investment in creating a *library* out of his diverse books.

Personalization

Examining the integration system closely reveals it to be personalized around Ellys's interests and priorities. The treatment of certain subjects and people indicates their particular significance to him and their important role in producing the library Ellys desired from the disparate books he collected. For certain works, the most salient bibliographical detail is not author's name or title but an access point based on subject. Subject access points are particularly illuminating because they reveal to us what terms were salient to Mitchell in designing the catalogue, and Ellys in using it. The French palaeography scholar Jean Mabillon (1632-1707), for example, is used as the basis for a nonce subject access point. The library contains several works by Mabillon, but although these are absent (or invisible) in the slip catalogue, Mabillon is still given as an access point under a different work. The entry for 'D'Achery (Lucas) Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum… Parisijs, Montalant, 1723. 4 vol. fol.' has Mitchell's note 'NB. volume 4tum continet Io: Mabillon vitam.' (i.e. the fourth volume contains a life of Jean Mabillon).[27] The underscoring of 'Mabillon' indicates that this is another access point, and indeed it appears a few volumes after the entry for Achery's work in an entry giving the title of this book. Mabillon, as a scholar of palaeography, was of great relevance to Ellys's interest in textual history, and this subject access point facilitated discovery of works *about* Mabillon as well as *by* him.

There is also evidence of particular decisions made around some title access points. In keeping with Mitchell's system, but very much not a subject access point, is Edward Young's 1730 *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*.[28] The book has the predictable access note 'Two' in Mitchell's hand on the flyleaf verso and the record is entered under the first word of the title. Despite the fact that 'Mr. Pope' would be a more descriptive access point, and a more likely

[27] *Spicilegium, sive, Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliæ bibliothecis delituerant*, ed. by Luc d'Achery, Nova editio... (Paris: Apud Montalant, 1723).
[28] Edward Young, *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope Concerning the Authors of the Age* (London: Printed for Lawton Gilliver, at Homer's Head against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1730).

term that a user would search, the entry is found under the very generic first word of the title. Pope is evidently of less interest than Mabillon. In contrast, however, in some instances a different part of the title is used, as in *A pack of Puritans, maintayning the vnlavvfulnesse, or vnexpedience or both Of pluralities and nonresidency* written anonymously by Sir Peter Wentworth and published in 1641.[29] The access point on the flyleaf verso is 'Pack of Puritans' and the entry in the catalogue begins 'Puritans, a pack of…'. Evidently, the underscoring of the word 'Puritans' signals that it is the access point. 'Puritans' is, after all, a more descriptive term than 'Pack' and Mitchell has made the conscious decision to implement an access point more related to the subject of the work than the 'Two' of *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope*. Although access points based on topic keywords are very common in modern cataloguing, subjects are not commonly used as access points in Mitchell's system. The choice of these access points indicates the importance of these topics to Ellys.

Even more telling is the access point 'Hampden', found in several of the books. This is applied to books about John Hampden (1595-1643), who challenged the legality of the ship money tax and was one of the Five Members Charles I attempted to arrest for high treason in 1642; he was also Ellys's great-grandfather.[30] An illustrative example of Hampden's treatment in the catalogue is in *The arguments of Sir Richard Hutton Knight ... and Sir George Croke Knight ... together with the certificate of Sir John Denham Knight ... upon a scire facias brought by the Kings Majesty ... against John Hampden* has Mitchell's access point 'Hampden' on the flyleaf, and is found in the catalogue as:[31]

> Hampden (John). The Arguments of Sir Rich. Hutton, & Sir Geo. Croke, together with the Certificates of Sir John Denham, upon a scire facias brought against John Hampden esqr…

[29] *A Pack of Pvritans, Maintayning the Vnlavvfulnesse, or Vnexpediencie or Both* (London: Printed for William Sheeres, 1641).
[30] Conrad Russell, 'Hampden, John (1595–1643), Politician', in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12169> [accessed 3 March 2019].; Stephen K. Roberts, 'Five Members (Act. 1641)', in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/94998> [accessed 3 March 2019].
[31] Richard Hutton and George Croke, *The Arguments of Sir Richard Hutton Knight…, and Sir George Croke Knight… : Upon a Scire Facias Brought by the Kings Majesty, in the Court of Exchequer, against John Hampden Esquire...* (London: Printed by M. Flesher and R. Young, the assignes of I. More Esquire, 1641).

Ellys's relation to and admiration for Hampden make 'Hampden' the most salient subject here – above Sir Richard Hutton, Sir George Croke, Sir John Denham and even the King himself.

Works relating to Hampden, like the examples above, also show evidence of the dynamic cataloguing process, with changes made as desired. This can be seen from a note left by Mitchell next to the entries for:

> State Tracts: Being a Collection of several Treatises relating to the Government privately printed in the Reign of K. Charles 2. Lond. 1689 fol. [shelfmark crossed out][32]
> ---- from 1660 to 1689. being the 2d vol. Lond. 1692. fol [shelfmark crossed out][33]

The entries are in Mitchell's hand, and next to them is his note 'write Titles of all the pieces'. Indeed, the two entries have been crossed out, and the individual works are now found entered separately under author or title. This is rare, as most volumes of multiple works are entered as a single record, and yet it demonstrates once again the importance of these works, which relate to John Hampden and the Civil War, and the desire to provide fuller catalogue records for them. His interest in the ship-money trials and his great-grandfather John Hampden is evident not only in the signs of reading in these volumes and this subject access point, but also in the fact that works about Hampden are thus pulled out of the usual cataloguing system to create a special category of particular interest to Ellys with a greater level of detail given. The system of access points is therefore not arbitrary.

Access points are not just used to link a book in hand to its entry in the catalogue; there is also a system of cross-referencing that links catalogue entries to each other, and the system of cross-references can reveal further details about the personalization of the cataloguing system. The cross-referencing system is very noticeable in the entry for 'Guillet (le Sieur) The Gentleman's Dictionary in 3 parts, viz. of Riding, of the Military Art, & of Navigation.

[32] *State Tracts: Being a Collection of Several Treatises Relating to the Government Privately Printed in the Reign of K. Charles II.* (London: s.n., 1689).
[33] *State Tracts: Being a Farther Collection of Several Choice Treatises Relating to the Government. From the Year 1660. to 1689...* (London: Printed, and are to be sold by Richard Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1692).

Lond. Bonwicke, 1705. 8vo with Cutts'.[34] The entry is written in the larger elegant hand, under which Mitchell has added 'vid. Dictionary: under which it is also set down'. This makes it clear to the user that the work, here entered by the author's name, is 'also set down' under a title access point. While the main entry is under the author, where full details are given, a secondary entry, or added entry, is given under 'Dictionary', the most salient term in the title. This allows multiple search terms to lead to the same entry. The system of cross-referencing indicates where entries have been lost – many of the underscored words lead to entries that are now either on the pasted-down side of a slip or have been discarded. While this is unfortunate as it proves that the picture generated by this slip catalogue is incomplete, it helpfully hints at what the missing entries might say.

Cross-references are frequently employed to handle cataloguing of volumes that contain multiple works. Under the access point 'Bornitij (Jac.)', for instance, are listed a number of his works which are bound together in a single volume with one shelfmark. Volumes of tracts by different authors are also catalogued as a single entry. The author access point for 'Cotton (John)', for instance, says 'vid. Strength out of Weakness etc.'. Following the trail to this entry leads to the full details for the volume and the seven works within it:

> Strength out of Weakness; or a glorious Manifestation of the further progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New-England. Lond. Blague, 1652. 4to. An Account given to the Parliament by the Ministers sent by them to Oxford etc. Lond. Gellibrand, 1647. 4to. Hypocrisie unmasked: or a true relation of the proceedings of the Massachussets against Sam Gorton, etc.by Edw: Winslow. Lond. Bellamy, 1646. 4to. Cotton (John) The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, etc 2d 3d. Lond. Overton, 1644. 4to. Cotton (John) The way of the Churches of Christ in New-England. Lond. Simmons, 1645. 4to. Cotton (John) The Way of Congregational Churches cleared, against Mr Rob. Baylie, Mr Rutherford, etc. Lond. Bellamie, 1648. 4to. Cotton (John) Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance. Lond. Allen, 1647. 4to [shelfmark obliterated][35]

[34] Georges Guillet de Saint-Georges, *The Gentleman's Dictionary. In Three Parts, Viz. I. The Art of Riding the Great Horse. II. The Military Art. III. The Art of Navigation* (London: Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul's Church-Yard; T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship in Cornhill, 1705).

[35] Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, *Strength out of Weakness, or, A Glorious Manifestation of the Further Progresse For the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* (London: M. Simmons, 1652); Francis Cheynell, *An Account given to the Parliament by the Ministers Sent by Them to Oxford* (London: printed by M[iles] F[letcher] for Samuel Gellibrand at the Brasen-Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1647); Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked by a True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusets against Samvel Gorton (and His Accomplices)* (London: Printed by

The underscored words indicate the access points for the individual works, listed either under title or author, and those access points all say 'vid. Strength out of Weakness', just as in the entry for 'Cotton (John)'. The main entry and shelfmark for all these works, therefore, is found listed under the title of the first item in the volume (although they would presumably be found under the author of the first item if it weren't written anonymously) with cross-references under the individual authors' names.

Cross-references are also used to deal with the phenomenon of synonymy, a problem of discoverability still familiar to modern cataloguers. An entry is given for 'Bon mots' which reads: 'Bon mots. vid Apophthegmes. vid. Paroles remarquables.' 'Bon mots' is not a title or author access point, and leads to no works on its own (meaning it is also not used as an access note in any of the books), but is a search term Mitchell anticipated and dealt with by referring the researcher to a relevant access point. Mitchell also anticipated and dealt with issues of spelling, as in the entry: 'Caracci vid. Carracci,' where the system of cross-referencing directs the user to the entries under the access point as it is spelled by the cataloguer.

Following the cross-references through the catalogue can show how the author, title and subject access points interacted to facilitate browsing and discovery. Searching for Artemidorus, for instance, gives the entry: 'Artemidori & Achmetis Oneirocritica. Gr. Lat. Etiam, Astrampsychi & Nicephori versus Oneirocritici. Gr. Lat. Cum Nic: Rigaltij Notis ad Artemidorum. Lutet. Orry, 1603, 4to. [shelfmark scribbled out]' (the work is *Oneirocritica Astrampsychi & Nicephori versus etiam Oneirocritici*, a work about the interpretation of dreams).[36] Following the underscored words to the author access point for 'Astrampsychus' leads to Mitchell's entry for 'Astrampsychi Oneirocreticon. vid. Sibyllina Oracula, opsopaei. & cum no [trimmed off] & Artemidorus' – the last entry leads back to the author access

---

Richard Cotes for John Bellamy, 1646); John Cotton, *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven: And Power Thereof According to the Word of God* (London: Printed by M. Simmons for Henry Overton, 1644); John Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England, or, The Way of Churches Walking in Brotherly Equalitie* (London: Printed by Matthew Simmons in Aldersgatestreet, 1645); John Cotton, *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: In Two Treatises* (London: printed by Matthew Simmons, for John Bellamie, at the signe of the three Golden-Lions, in Cornhill, 1648); John Cotton, *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance* (London: Printed by M.S. for H. Allen, 1647).

[36] Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oneirocritica: Astrampsychi & Nicephori versus Etiam Oneirocritici* (Paris: apud Marcum Orry, via Iacobæa, ad insigne Leonis salientis, 1603).

point for Artemidorus, while the first is a cross-reference that leads to an access point for 'Sibyllina Oracula'. 'Sibyllina Oracula' is a subject access point (the Sibylline Oracles), and has several works under it including the 1689 Gallé edition of the *Astrampsychi Oneirocriticon*.[37] Each cross-reference under these entries leads on to another item related by subject, and allows a researcher to discover previously unknown works by browsing the catalogue.

Research trails like this are evidence of how laborious and effortful the compilation of this catalogue undoubtedly was. The various entries were connected by someone who was obviously familiar with the subjects of the works and with the research needs of a potential user in mind. It is obvious that this role fell mainly to Mitchell – most of the cross-references appear in his hand, even where he added them to entries written in another hand. Mitchell seems to have been assisted by several other people, but it was he who was in charge of intellectually organizing the catalogue. It was mostly he who made use of the system of cross-referencing, and he alone who chose the access points and wrote them in the actual books (even in books with a different letter code, where Mitchell did not check the collation himself). He also links together his entries with entries written by a different cataloguer. In *An abstract of the historical part of the Old Testament*, written anonymously by Edward Harley, Mitchell adds the access point 'Harley' to the flyleaf verso.[38] The main entry for this work under 'Harley', however, is written in a different hand. And yet searching for the title leads to a secondary entry in Mitchell's hand: 'Abstract of the Historical part of the Old Testament. vid. Harley', referring to the main entry under the author access point. This further confirms that Mitchell, although a physician by training, was an able librarian by profession, able to collaborate with and manage the efforts of a team of other cataloguers and to devise and implement an effective system of integration. Mitchell's system was based on Ellys's requirements and priorities; his interest in Christianity in the New World is represented in the works of Strength out of Weakness, and the research trail above reveals Ellys's attention to the Classics. All these works received detailed catalogue records and the catalogue infrastructure is used to full advantage to enhance discoverability for these specific topics.

---

[37] *Sibylliakoi chrēsmoi [hoc est, Sibyllina oracula… Astrampsychi Oneiro-Criticum]*, ed. by Servatius Gallé (Amsterdam: Apud Henricum & Viduam Theodori Boom, 1689).
[38] Edward Harley, *An Abstract of the Historical Part of the Old Testament: With References to Other Parts of the Scripture* (London: Printed by W. Bowyer, 1730).

Mitchell's cataloguing ability and familiarity with the priorities of his employer is further demonstrated in his use of standardized access points. John Bridges, whose large private library was sold at three sales in 1726 with several books ending up in Ellys's collection, is found as an entry in the catalogue despite there being no works authored by him in the library. The entry reads: 'Bridges (John) A Catalogue of his Library. vid. Bibliothecae Bridgesianae catalogus.', directing the user to the entry for the auction catalogue from the sale of his library.[39] In the next volume, there is another entry under 'Catalogus Bibliothecae Bridgesianae' with the same instruction, 'vid Bibliotheca'; the main entry for the work is found under the access point 'Bibliotheca'. The access point 'Bibliotheca' also has entries for a great number of other sale, auction, and library catalogues, regardless of whether 'Bibliotheca' is the first word of their titles. It seems that 'Bibliotheca' functions as a sort of unified access point, serving as the point of entry for all works in this genre of library catalogues. This could almost be seen as a very simple version of what modern cataloguing protocol would call an authorized access point – an access point not based on the exact wording of a work's title, author or subject as it is printed in the book, but intended to link together related works through standardized meta-language.[40]

Another of these proto-authorized access points is 'Stephanus' (the Latinized name of the Estienne family of early French printers). Ellys had a great interest in the history of printing on the Continent, and his fascination with the Estienne printing dynasty is evident in his great number of their works (obviously collected with purpose) and the presence of a few particularly rare Estienne volumes as described in the previous chapter. 'Stephanus' is not an author or title access point, and in only one case could it be seen as a subject access point; the Estiennes were not authors, their name did not appear in the title of their works, and they were the subject of only one work in the collection (Michael Maittaire's *Stephanorum historia, vitas ipsorum ac libros complectens* of 1709).[41] And yet the 'Stephanus' access point lists over a dozen works published by the Estienne family. Some of these entries are

[39] *Bibliothecae Bridgesianae Catalogus: Or, A Catalogue of the Entire Library of John Bridges, Late of Lincolns-Inn, Esq...* (London: Printed by J. Tonson and J. Watts, and to be sold at most booksellers in town and country, 1725).
[40] Library of Congress, 'Library of Congress Authorities', 2016 <https://authorities.loc.gov/> [accessed 2 August 2019].
[41] Michael Maittaire, *Stephanorum historia, vitas ipsorum ac libros complectens* (London: Typis Benj. Motte, impensis Christoph. Bateman, 1709).

obviously also entered under the title, as they have a cross-reference to an added title entry: and yet the main entry is under the printer. This might be understandable for works like Bibles or dictionaries, which don't have a particular author and were compiled or edited by one of the Estiennes. And yet it is very unexpected for works that do have an identified author, such as several works by Cicero for which full details are entered under 'Stephanus' and do not appear under 'Cicero'. For the purposes of this catalogue, then, 'Stephanus' functions as an authorized access point for all works from the Estienne printing family, taking priority over the standard system that elsewhere prefers to enter works under author and title access points.

'Bibliotheca' and 'Stephanus' do not operate exactly as modern authorized access points, of which a modern electronic record can have many (authors, subjects, and series titles all have standardized authorized access points recognized by the Library of Congress). And yet they perform the same function of drawing together and linking entries related along a single dimension: genre, in the case of 'Bibliotheca', and printer in the case of 'Stephanus'. As in the case of the 'Hampden' subject access point discussed above, the way these access points take priority over the catalogue's typical system for entering works reveals the salience of these terms over what would otherwise be the main access point for a work. It is not clear whether Ellys was directly involved in choosing these access points, but it is certain that Mitchell's system was designed around features that were salient to Ellys (such as famous printers or works about his great-grandfather). Linking together these works, related along a dimension that is not standard but personal, indicates that the catalogue was designed to facilitate the use and perusal of the collection specifically by Ellys. While for the most part predictable and standard, there is clear evidence of personalization around Ellys's priorities and interests. While the selection of particular books and the acquisition of a collection certainly reflect these priorities, the integration process was also purposefully constructed around Ellys's individual passions.

Consolidation and Distinction

Much of the activity around integration served not to display Ellys's status externally, but to consolidate and confirm to himself his position as a man of distinction. The integration

system, particularly the catalogue, was personalized based on the priorities of Ellys as its owner – his family pride, his scholarly interests, and his religious devotion. It is not clear how much this personalization was intended as a conscious effort to align the library publicly with Ellys's selfhood, or whether the association was implicit and unconscious. While there is some small evidence of how Ellys's library served to produce and enhance his reputation among his peers, most of the behaviour during the integration phase was more internally-focused; practical considerations, rather than prestige, were paramount. Visible integration, especially the production of a catalogue, is a central aspect of the outward portrayal of identity. The 'impulse to textualize collections' led to a proliferation of private library catalogues during this period as collectors sought to publicly and widely show off their vast hoards in an effort to confer upon themselves the benefits of admiration and advancing status.[42] Ellys never had one of these catalogues printed, Mitchell's catalogue being very much a personal copy for use in the library; and yet while the catalogue is not a public display of richness and status, its inclusion of specific bibliographic details indicates how Ellys valued his books and suggests his attitude towards them and himself.

Although the majority of books in Ellys's collection are fairly unremarkable in appearance, the previous chapter proved that it is certainly not the case that he rejected beauty and ignored aesthetics. The process of integration, as well as acquisition, demonstrates this intermittent attention to aesthetics, and the occasional copy-specific details mentioned in the catalogue demonstrate a great attraction to the materiality of books. The majority of catalogue entries, we have seen, are fairly simple and contain bibliographic details and potential cross-references to other entries in the catalogue, and yet for some entries extra notes are added giving specific details on the items in Ellys's collection. In all but a very few cases, these are not equivalent to the type of copy-specific notes usually written in the books themselves, which most often refer to collation. In a couple of entries, Mitchell adds notes to himself commenting on the condition of the item. Two entries for New Testaments under the 'Stephanus' access point have his note 'dirty' in the left margin, and next to his entry 'The Boke of common praier, and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites & ceremonies

[42] Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 9.

in the Churche of Englande…' he writes 'bad condition'.[43] None of these three books is in the library now, which might indicate that they were discarded by a later owner due to their poor condition. It is entirely possible that more entries had these notes of condition attached, but they have all been trimmed off with only these few exceptions. The notes may have been Mitchell's notes to himself that the book needed attention, or they may have been intended to warn readers of the poor condition of the items.

The great majority of the copy-specific notes in the catalogue give details of the appearance of the books, indicating an awareness of the material nature of books and a pride in their aesthetic and material value. Mitchell sometimes mentions that a book has a particularly notable binding or decoration, as in his entry 'Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, in England & Ireland. London, Aylmer, 1699. 8vo. Bound in Turkey, gilt leaves, & ruled with red lines', or 'The Statues & Ordinances of the most noble Order of St George… MS. very fair, on Vellum; with the initial Letters of the Paragraphs gilt, also Leaves gilt; & the Royal Arms on the Covers 4to.'.[44] The underscoring here does not indicate a cross-reference to another access point, but serves to highlight the unique features of this book. While the bulk of these copy-specific notes relate to the binding, some describe other features such as the typeface, as in: 'Abstract of certaine Acts of Parlement… Black Letter' and the entry 'Idem. but without the Answer. Roman Letter… sine anno, & loco' (seen in figure 6).[45]

---

[43] *The Boke of Common Praier, and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande* (London: in officina Richardi Graftoni: Regii Impressoris. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum., 1552).

[44] Josiah Woodward, *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, in England and Ireland* (London: Printed for B. Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhill; and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1699); 'The Statutes and Ordinaunces of the Most Noble Order of St George Named the Garter Refourmed Explayned Declared and Renued by the Most High Most Excellent & Most Puissaunt Prince Henry Ye Eight by Ye Grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland &c.' ([England], 1589), Blickling Hall, Running number 6848.

[45] Richard Cosin, *An Answer to the Two First and Principall Treatises of a Certeine Factious Libell, Put Foorth Latelie, without Name of Author or Printer*, black letter edition (Printed at London: by Henrie Denham for Thomas Chard., 1584); The second, in Roman letter, may be Richard Cosin, *An Ansvver to the Two Fyrst and Principall Treatises of a Certaine Factious Libell, Put Foorth Latelie, without Name of Author or Printer, and without Approbation by Authoritie, Vnder the Title of An Abstract of Certeine Acts of Parlement*, Roman letter edition (London: Printed for Thomas Chard, 1584). Both versions were usually bound with the *Abstract* preceding the *Answer*. The Roman letter version may also refer to William Stoughton, *An Abstract, of Certain Acts of Parliament: Of Certaine Her Maiesties Iniunctions: Of Certaine Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles Prouinciall: Established and in Force, for the Peaceable Gouernment of the Church, within Her Maiesties Dominions and*

One of the most notable of these appearance notes is found in 'The Pentateuch, or Jews Law, in Hebrew, MS. on vellum, and rolled up on two round pieces of wood as is used in the Synagogues'. The scroll is sadly no longer present in the library but must have been a beautiful and much-valued treasure; it was not sold in the 1932 sale in New York and cannot be identified or traced. Mitchell also notes the quality and rarity of certain volumes, as in his entry 'Palladio (Andrea) Architettura… NB. It was printed on three sorts of paper; but this is the largest & best, and only 10. or 12. copies cast off'.[46] Other cataloguers comment on these features to some extent as well, as in the entry in the elegant hand for 'Rossi (Joan.) Historia Regum Angliae, ex edit. & cum Notis Tho. Hearnij. Accedit, Joan. Lelandi Naenia in morten Henrici Duddelegi Equitis… NB. of this book only 60 printed, & but 12 in this large paper', but the majority of the comments on books' appearance are in Mitchell's hand.[47] Further evidence of pride in the material value of books is evidenced in Mitchell's occasional notes on a work's historical significance. For instance, the entry for *Gnomologia, sive moralium sententiarum collectanea…* appears as 'Gnomologia; sive morales Sententiae Theognidis, Pythagorae, Phocylidis, Sibyllae, Erythraeae, Catonis, &c. Gr. Parisij, Bolseus, 1512. 4to.', and is accompanied by Mitchell's note 'NB. These are the first Greek Types that ever were used in France, as Mr Maittaire assured me'.[48] This entry is evidence of discussion between Mitchell and Maittaire over the significance of this book to the history of Continental printing, and the inclusion of this detail in the catalogue demonstrates an interest and pride in this important item. Similarly, Mitchell's entry for the Bible printed in Mainz in 1462 appears as: 'Bible Latina. Edit. 1ma. Moguntiae, 1462. 2 vol. fol. Corio Turc. rubro deaur & fol. deaur. a very fine copy.'.[49] He comments on the Morocco binding and the gilding, and identifies this Bible as a first edition, i.e. the first printed Bible. This is not true, of course, as this edition post-dates the Gutenberg Bible, but as far as Ellys and Mitchell knew this was the

---

Countries, for the Most Part Heretofore Vnknowen and Vnpractized. ([London]: [Printed by Robert Waldegrave], 1583), if Mitchell's description meant to indicate that the second entry was never issued with the *Answer*, rather than suggesting that the two parts of the work have become separated.

[46] Andrea Palladio, *L'architettura d'Andrea Palladio, divisa in quatro libri* (Venice: Per Domenico Louisa à Rialto, 1711).

[47] John Rous, *Historia regum Angliæ*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1716). On p. xl is printed: 'there are only threescore copies of this book printed, viz. twelve in large, and fourty [sic] eight in small paper'.

[48] Girolamo Aleandro, *Gnomologia Index Eorum Quæ in Hoc Volumine* (Paris: Apud M. Bolsecum, 1512).

[49] *[Biblia latina]* (Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 1462).

first printed Bible ever produced and it is characteristic of the catalogue to draw attention to its historical significance and pleasing appearance.

One of the most unusual and fascinating books in the collection is the *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesaurus*, produced by Robert Estienne of the famous Estienne printing dynasty in 1543 and mentioned by Mitchell in a letter to Mackie before he even entered Ellys's employment. The copy in Ellys's library belonged to the Estienne family personally, and was used by Henri Estienne, the son of Robert, in his preparation of future publications. An absolutely unique treasure, the book contains numerous marginal notes in Henri's hand and his added printed slips next to many entries. Mitchell's catalogue entry, identifying the work as 'Stephani (Rob) Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Parisijs, ap ipsum Rob. Stephanum 1543. 4. vol. fol. Ch. max', remarks on its uniqueness with the note:

> NB. This copy belonged to Hen. Stephanus, as appears by his own name written with his own hand. It has also many MS Notes on the Margin by H. Stephanus & printed Labels, several whereof are not in the Edition 1573.

Mitchell, uncharacteristically, seems here either to have been misinformed or to have expressed himself badly; there was no edition of this Latin dictionary in 1573. It is possible he is referring instead to the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, which Henri Estienne published in Geneva in 1572, and it is possible that Henri would have taken notes on his father's Latin lexicon in the production of his own work. But it is equally possible that Mitchell is here relating information given to him by an ill-informed advisor without checking its veracity. This copy-specific information demonstrates Mitchell's genuine interest in the history and significance of the books in his guardianship and is also evidence of an awareness of the status a book like this conveyed upon its owner as a unique object, but reveals that he was not as committed to accuracy in this instance as elsewhere.

The presence (or, more frequently, absence) of copy-specific details in the catalogue entries presents an odd paradox. Given the multiple comments about historical significance and rarity, the results of a search for two of the library's greatest treasures, the Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Psalter manuscripts, are remarkably underwhelming. Searchers for the Psalter will be disappointed, as the book is not to be found anywhere in the slip catalogue. Whether its entry is listed on the back of another slip, was discarded in the production of the

nineteenth-century album catalogues, or was simply never entered into the catalogue, the puzzling fact remains that there is now no record of its decorative titles and insular majuscule letters in the Blickling catalogue. Under the access point 'Homilies', however, appears the entry: 'Homilies in the Saxon language &c. vid. Saxon'. The main entry for the work appears under 'Saxon' as 'Saxon Homilies in the Saxon Language and Character. MS. 4to.'. This bare-bones description is even more surprising than a missing entry: Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are exceedingly rare, and Mitchell seems profoundly uninterested in this one! In addition, it is certain that Ellys was interested in this manuscript and highly motivated to acquire it, as he went to great lengths to secure it for his collection rather than surrender it to Edward Harley. Of course we cannot know how much Ellys valued these manuscripts, and he may well have had them on constant display for all to see, and yet the catalogue entry makes only minimal mention of their linguistic and historical significance and uniqueness.

The simple makeup of the majority of entries, as well as the absence of any comment on the significance of the Anglo-Saxon Homilies manuscripts, suggest that the catalogue was intended primarily for scholarly use and research, and that its purpose was not to act as a list of expensive and rare volumes to be shown off. But conversely, there is obviously an awareness, even a preoccupation, with (some of) the books' physical beauty and material features. The presence of details relating to lavish bindings, rarity, and historical significance demonstrates a complexity of purpose behind the catalogue and the library as a whole: a complexity that corresponds to the duality of Ellys's priorities and image of his library. These two different priorities, intellectual and material or aesthetic, manifest in the different treatment of books in the collection. This might also be seen in the application of letter codes – strangely, letter codes do not appear in all the books in the library. One could assume that those without an M code did not belong to Ellys but were perhaps already at Blickling Hall when his books arrived there, or were added to the Blickling collection later after his death. But some of the books without M codes were certainly his: the 1462 Mainz Bible, the Estienne *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesauraus,* and the Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Psalter, which all definitely belonged to Ellys, do not have a code.

The lack of letter codes on some of the library's greatest treasures could suggest a separate collection within the library of rare and curious objects. Ellys was certainly aware of the significance of these works, and may have valued that over their use as reading material. Perhaps he or Mitchell didn't want to sully them with the addition of the functional yet

distracting cataloguing code. If this is the case, it corresponds to Swann's definition of collecting as the 'setting aside' of a select group of objects, meaning that, at least for some books, Ellys fits with Pearson's definition of a book collector as one whose books are valued for traits beyond their physical use.[50] This notion of a possible two-tiered library still holds when we look at the varied treatments with respect to binding. Binding is a central aspect of the outward integration process, which has been conspicuously absent thus far from the present discussion. The reason for this is simple: there is very little concrete evidence of Ellys actually having his books bound. Many of Ellys's books must have arrived in his library already bound as they are still in sixteenth and seventeenth century bindings. Certainly Ellys did have some of his books bound, but they were not bound to match in attractive and decorative bindings as some collectors' were. Indeed, binding was not his top priority as many items in the library remain unbound and their edges untrimmed. The *New Memoirs of Literature* pamphlet series, for instance, although read and sometimes annotated, are stitched together loosely with a light blue paper cover, making them fragile and difficult to shelve uniformly with bound volumes.[51] This makes sense given the ephemeral nature of these pamphlets (in contrast, say, to the attractively-bound *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* which presumably had a longer lifespan of usefulness),[52] but there are also some much larger books lying unbound on shelves.[53]

For most volumes in bindings contemporary with Ellys's collecting, it is generally not clear whether they arrived already bound or were sent for binding by Ellys, but there are a few cases where it can be reliably assumed a book was bound by him. One such is the 1736 *Histoire de la papesse Jeanne*, in which Mitchell's code 'M 2 vol' on the flyleaf has been cut off slightly at the top, as if the pages were trimmed in the rebinding process.[54] Two new

---

[50] Swann, p. 6; David Pearson, 'Books for Use and Books For Show' in *Book Ownership in Stuart England: The Lyell Lectures, 2018* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 111-137; 'Cultures of Collecting', ibid., pp. 138-164.
[51] De la Roche, Michel, ed., *New Memoirs of Literature: Containing an Account of New Books Printed Both at Home and Abroad, with Dissertations upon Several Subjects, Miscellaneous Observations. &c.* (London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, 1725-27).
[52] Royal Society (Great Britain), I–XXXVI.
[53] These are on the lower shelves of several presses, and water damage means that the cabinets cannot be accessed for research or cataloguing. They have not been listed so unfortunately they cannot be identified at this stage.
[54] Friedrich Spanheim, *Histoire de la Papesse Jeanne fidèlement tirée de la dissertation latine de Mr. de Spanheim*, trans. by Jacques Lenfant, Troisième édition augmentée, etc. (The Hague: J. vanden Kieboom, 1736).

flyleaves have been inserted before the original flyleaf bearing the M code. If Mitchell had applied the code to an already-bound volume, he surely would have applied it to the front flyleaf as he does elsewhere. Jean de Serres's 1575 *Life* of Gaspard de Coligny, also bound by Ellys, has two M codes, one on the original flyleaf before the title page, and another on the new flyleaf inside the upper board; the second M was presumably added after the book was rebound.[55] Both the *Histoire de la papesse Jeanne* and *Gasparis Colinij Castellonii* are in fairly standard bindings: calf, with a small gilt floral roll and gilt tooling on the spine. While not cheap, these bindings are not nearly as lavish and stunning as they could be.

There is one book definitely bound under Ellys's orders, revealed by a small slip of paper with Mitchell's note 'To Mr Lacy to bind'. The slip is pinned to a typewritten shelflist of the library in the Norfolk Record Office, and is near the entry for *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate* of 1587. It is not clear how this slip ended up in Norwich pinned to a typescript and although it is not certain, it seems safe to assume that the binding note refers to the *Vetus Testamentum*, which is bound in calf, with a gilt floral roll on the board edges, gold tooling on the spine and a spine label with a gilt title (in a different decorative scheme from the *Histoire de la papesse Jeanne* and *Gasparis Colinij Castellonii*). The edges are sprinkled in red and there are marbled endpapers: a nice, but not exceptionally opulent, eighteenth-century binding. While Ellys's bindings are attractively decorated and elegant, it does not seem that he had specific demands for a decorative scheme. Indeed, it may have been the binder(s) who chose the decoration that he thought most appropriate for a gentleman in Ellys's position. A clue in the catalogue suggests one more book that was likely bound by Ellys, this one in a rather different style. The entry for 'Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana, or Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Geo Guil. Baron de Hohendorf. 3 parties. Hay de Hondt 1720. 8o. 3 vol.' is written in the elegant cataloguer's hand, and below it is another entry in his hand: 'idem. [i.e. the same work] 3 vol. 8vo.'.[56] The second entry has been crossed over and a note added (in Mitchell's hand) 'given to Mr Barnard'. The copy given to Mr. Barnard did not stay away for good, as the library today once again has two copies of the Hohendorf catalogue. Mr. Barnard is likely to have been a binder; while the original entries show that both copies were in three volumes, the current set-up has one copy in three parts and the other with all three bound together in a single volume, quarter bound in sheepskin with boards

[55] Jean de Serres, *Gasparis Colinij Castellonij, magni quondam Franciæ amirallij, vita* (Geneva: s.n., 1575).
[56] *Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana* (The Hague: Chez Abraham de Hondt, 1720).

covered in light blue paper and untrimmed edges. While the return of the second copy is not recorded in the catalogue, this seems the only plausible explanation for how three volumes could be sent away and returned bound into one. The Hohendorf catalogue, as a piece of ephemera to be preserved and rarely consulted, would not have required the durability and attractiveness of a full leather binding; a quarter binding of sheep was perfectly sufficient. Evidently for some items that Ellys did send to be bound, functionality was prioritised over appearance. These bindings created volumes that were far easier to read than unbound sheets, but were hardly a rare treat to look at. Accumulating a collection of this size over a relatively short period of time would mean a virtually non-stop influx of material, and it makes sense that not all of it would have been bound elegantly in full leather.

Aware that their collections served to furnish them with an identity of taste and intellect, some other library owners of the period became increasingly concerned with the appearance of their books, as they began to turn them spine-out on the shelves and engage the services of professional binders and decorators.[57] The frequent notes in the catalogue describing a fine binding or particularly unusual paper prove Ellys's awareness of and interest in the cachet of an attractive and expensive volume, but he certainly did not go to the time and expense of applying identical and expensive bindings to his books. Possessions come to stand for their owners, as discussed previously, and it is worth analyzing how Ellys's private library served to furnish his reputation and portray his public role. It is certain that the library acted, whether purposely or not, as an outward display of Ellys's distinguished character and prominent role in his social circle. Owning a library of this size is an impressive feat, and would not have gone unnoticed by his acquaintances. He moved in intellectual circles and was connected to many scholars, and built a reputation around his admirable collection of books and other artefacts.

It is useful here to employ Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital*. Cultural capital is symbolic: it is unrecognized as capital but is interpreted as competence, and is valued based on the fact that it is not available to all. Bourdieu further breaks down cultural capital into objectified and embodied states – the objectified includes cultural goods such as books or art works, while the embodied is the assumed cultural knowledge needed to 'consume' such

[57] Giles Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume 2: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173–89 (p.185).

items. While a collection of expensive and rare luxury objects depends on and demonstrates great financial wealth, the cultural capital associated with a collection of weighty books is separate from and more than economic capital. A book collector of status has cultivated both objectified and embodied cultural capital, as he physically owns the objects of learning and symbolically owns the knowledge to produce meaning from them. The perceived accumulation of both types of cultural capital functions to convert external wealth into 'an integral part of the person' and to portray an identity of taste and intellect. [58] Owners 'act through objects by distributing parts of their personhood onto things',[59] and the possession of a private library (especially one the size of Ellys's) during this period acted as an index of an erudite virtuoso persona. Distinct from the mere consumption of luxury items, the virtuoso identity was about more than financial power. Instead it represented intellectual and artistic cultivation, and a refined taste in the material and the aesthetic. Marjorie Swann finds the origins of this practice in the Renaissance, as the English elite began to imitate the Continental fashion for collecting art as an ownable embodiment of high culture and knowledge: in other words, objectified cultural capital. She explains how collecting became a way to establish individual social power and knowledge, rather than signifying inherited status, money, and possessions.[60]

The eighteenth-century virtuoso identity involved making use of objects to demonstrate associated personal attributes, both implicitly and explicitly. The virtuoso identity was one of status and prestige and a private library functioned as an emblem of that identity, conferring and proclaiming social status. In defining status, differentiating it from monetary wealth, and teasing out exactly where the cultural value of a library comes from, it is useful to return to Bourdieu and his concept of *distinction*. Bourdieu argues that 'tastes…function as markers of class' and that any aspect of life (such as one's collection of reading material) can contribute to the development of status and respect as it is subject to 'stylization…that is, the primacy of forms over function'. In other words, those of sufficient economic position need not concern themselves with the task of meeting necessities but may instead prioritize the social meanings of objects over their functional meanings in order to project a lifestyle of status and

[58] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education,* Ed. John G. Richardson (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 244-6
[59] Janet Hoskins, 'Agency, Biography and Objects', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 74–84 (p.76).
[60] Marjorie Swann, p. 9; pp. 16-17; p. 90.

distinction.[61] The cultural capital embodied in a library worked to convey cultural and intellectual prestige in this way. Ellys was evidently aware of his role as a prominent member of his church and his reputation in scholastic circles, and made strategic use of this status, for instance to influence the choice of his church's new minister, or to scoop up the Homilies and Psalter manuscripts from Harley. His public identity as a scholar and benefactor was based on the cultural capital of his library and the assumed lifestyle of distinction that accompanied it. Although Ellys took little action to explicitly connect the books with himself, for instance by writing his name or applying bookplates (indeed, the books tell us more about Mitchell's work with the books than Ellys's), the integrated library is implicitly associated with Ellys's public persona and reputation.

The less opulent aesthetic of his library would have been very different from a collector like Samuel Pepys and the appealing uniformity of his shelves. But while it did not look as tidy and expensive as Pepys's collection, obviously intended to show off the owner's money and elegance, Ellys's library looked like the library of a scholar or professional. Gordon N. Ray notes how 'unlike the collector of art objects, [the book collector] can't display his possessions for all to see; indeed, it almost takes a fellow enthusiast to make very much of them'.[62] This unexceptional appearance of his library implicitly declares that Ellys's priorities went beyond the mere material concerns of aesthetics, and portrays a scholarly, serious-minded persona. This, alongside the numerous catalogue references to luxurious and lavish bindings, suggests an ambivalence about Naudé's principle that a valuable binding is a distraction and not worthy of inclusion in a library. On the one hand, Ellys clearly valued and appreciated the fine bindings in his library, but on the other he stopped short of deliberately applying his own. This ambivalence does not weaken the library's function as cultural capital. Instead, it bestowed on Ellys the distinction of being both a serious scholar and a connoisseur of the rare and the antique. Integration consolidated and confirmed, to Ellys himself and to those around him, his membership in a sort of club or 'collecting dynasty'.[63]

---

[61] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.2; p. 5.
[62] Gordon N. Ray, 'The Private Collector and the Literary Scholar', in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969),pp. 27-81 (p. 35).
[63] ibid., p. 34.

The audience for what Russell W. Belk terms the 'extended self', created through possessions, does not need to be external; in the catalogue, Ellys privately portrays the extended self he envisions.[64] This self is a person of distinction, to use Bourdieu's term, prioritizing 'form over function' to produce a social meaning from his private lifestyle.[65] The catalogue entries are not solely intended to facilitate use; drawing attention to features such as appearance or uniqueness is not strictly necessary, and yet the fact that it was done regularly indicates an attention to and regard for aesthetic and material details. Thus the inclusion of notes describing beauty and rarity in the catalogue reflect on Ellys as a man of distinction in the realm of intellect as well as the realm of aesthetic taste. Although the catalogue was never printed, and would not have been visible beyond those associates of Ellys who made use of the library, the integration process means that the original eighteenth-century slip catalogue also served to outwardly display Ellys's persona. It represents the whole library metaphorically, as an encapsulation of the collection. Its personalized nature means that it comes to represent Ellys himself metonymically, through association with his reputation as a scholar and a man of taste. The fact that the majority of these copy-specific notes describe an exceptional binding, expensive paper, or impressive rarity is telling; these are traits valued by Ellys that he wished to record in order to enjoy his own image of distinction reflected in the finery of his possessions. The notes of bibliographical significance, as in the Mainz Bible or the early Greek typeface, show that it was not just financial capacity and aesthetic taste that Ellys saw in himself, but a great intellect, a sense of historical significance, and a knowledge of bibliography. The personalized nature of the catalogue reinforces the intimate connection between Ellys's library and his character, priorities, and interests.

Managing and Mastering

Examining integration activities can connect the individual social history of this library and the persona of its owner to wider trends in the history of the early eighteenth century. Shifting intellectual and bibliographical currents are exhibited in the library's attitude towards knowledge and the organization and arrangement of information in the catalogue. These

[64] Russell W. Belk, 'Possessions and the Extended Self', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15.2 (1988), 139–68.
[65] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 5.

changes are manifested in the material realm though the physical arrangement on the shelves; managing books and their content thus comes to act as an index of knowing, mastering, and owning information. This extends from the representation of knowledge in the catalogue or book list, to the physical and conceptual organization of the concrete manifestation of that knowledge: the books themselves. The original physical arrangement of the library is for the most part unclear, and yet there is evidence of two types of organizing behaviour. The first of these is found in *Gasparis Colinij Castellonii*: a small Greek letter beta at the foot of the flyleaf in the left-hand corner by the gutter.[66] Greek letter codes are found in approximately 20-30% of the books, always in Mitchell's writing and always in the same position on the front flyleaf. The only letters used are alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, eta, iota, and sigma – not perfectly corresponding to the first letters of the alphabet. These Greek letters are entirely mysterious. They do not appear in the catalogue, there is no obvious pattern to books they appear in, and the different letters do not seem to correspond to a book's size or subject. It seems most logical to assume that they have something to do with classification or physical arrangement (they may have been employed as numbers, referring perhaps to numbered shelves or bays), and yet they do not correspond to the shelfmarks written in the catalogue.

The second, and more constructive, piece of evidence of organizing behaviour is the shelfmarks. The slip catalogue is full of shelfmarks, and yet almost all are scribbled over. Even where they can be made out, the catalogue's shelfmark is never found written in a book. The absence of shelfmarks in the books is mysterious – surely this would make it difficult to use the library if one were not familiar with the shelving arrangement, and the library was certainly used by people other than Ellys and Mitchell. A reader would have to refer constantly to the catalogue to figure out where to replace a book, which is unwieldy and inconvenient. While many books have shelfmarks in a variety of hands, the only shelfmarks that can be reliably connected to this collection – i.e. definitely aren't from a previous owner – are in Ellys's own hand. With very few exceptions, this is the only thing Ellys wrote in any of his books and yet his shelfmarks appear in only about one hundred of the books. Inexplicably, Ellys's shelfmarks never match the shelfmarks given in the catalogue. There seems to be no discernible pattern to which books Ellys shelfmarked. They do not all date from before he inherited in 1727 or before he hired Mitchell in 1730; rather, he continued to add occasional shelfmarks to books published well into the 1730s.

[66] de Serres.

Shelfmarks were certainly important, and Ellys and Mitchell both used them to refer to positions on the shelves. The issue of *New Memoirs of Literature* for December 1726 has Ellys's note on the cover: 'The Account of Crook's, is put into ye 1st page of D.11.1'.[67] This must refer to a book in the library, and implies that he plans to return to the periodical wanting to know where the book is located. Conversely, no shelfmark is given in a book of plates in a cheap binding of blue paper over pasteboard, which has Mitchell's note inside indicating that, 'These plates belong to Spon's Hist. de Geneve, in 4 vol. 8 vol' (there is no title page). His entry in the catalogue for the main volume, Jacob Spon's *Histoire de Genève,* gives the shelfmark 'H 3 208-211' and notes that 'The figg. are bound by themselves, in 4to. 3 X 176' (the shelfmark for the plates has been crossed out in the catalogue).[68] This means that someone coming across the plates or text on the shelf would have to refer to the catalogue in order to find the accompanying volume. It seems bizarre that Mitchell would not write its shelfmark in its companion. An explanation for the general absence of shelfmarks in the books might be that they were written onto small slips of paper inserted at the top and sticking out from the pages. This would allow books to be rearranged easily, with a new shelfmark added simply by swapping out the slip of paper. The books certainly were moved around, with some being brought from Nocton down to London (detectable now by their distinctive large black shelfmarks from the Nocton library) and some moved to the house next door to Ellys in Bolton Street when he took it over.[69] Shelfmarks on slips seems a strong possibility, but can be nothing more than supposition. (If these existed, they have been removed entirely from all the library's books which would have been a large task completed to an extraordinarily thorough standard.) Large-scale book moves would also explain why shelfmarks in the catalogue were scratched out and changed. It is also possible that the shelfmarks were scribbled out in the catalogue when the collection was moved to Blickling after Ellys's death, as they no longer pertained. But the shelfmarks were not obliterated all at once, as is evident from the different inks used and the different patterns of the crossings-out, so it seems more likely to be a result of numerous partial rearrangements of the books.

---

[67] de la Roche, vol. 3, 1726.
[68] Jacob Spon, *Histoire de Genève* (Geneva: Chez Fabri & Barrillot, 1730).
[69] Mandelbrote & Lewis. p. 10; also Maurice Johnson, 'Part of a Letter from Maurice Johnson to John Johnson', in *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society: 1710-1761*, ed. by D. Honeybone and M. Honeybone, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 99 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 116.

The few shelfmarks visible in the books and catalogue suggest that the library was physically arranged by subject and by size, which was a very common arrangement inherited from medieval libraries.[70] Indeed, this is still the organizing principle on the shelves at Blickling. A note referring to physical placement is found in the entry 'Prideaux (Humph.) The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jewish & neighbouring nations. 9th ed. Lond. Knaplock &c 1725. 4. vol. 8vo. with figg.'.[71] Below, in a different ink but also in Mitchell's hand, is written 'NB. These to be taken away, & sent to Nocton, given to Mr Garner in 1734'. While the library still contains a copy of Prideaux's work, the current volumes are of the seventh edition (volume one) and the fourth edition (volume two) and are therefore not the ones referred to by this entry. The entry has another note in Mitchell's hand, reading 'Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities in their place'.[72] The entry for *Origines hebrææ: the antiquities of the Hebrew republick* by Thomas Lewis also describes the work as four volumes in octavo – it would fit on the same shelf as the absent Prideaux volumes. It is difficult to make out the shelfmarks of the Prideaux and Lewis entries, as both have been scribbled over, but it appears that they both begin with F X 53. (This is the only shelfmark given in the Lewis entry, indicating it did not previously occupy a different place before being moved to F X 53.) It seems that the Prideaux books were sent away to Nocton because they were duplicates. This freed up space to add the newly-acquired set by Lewis, which fit into the spot as it was the same size and on the same subject. And yet it would make more sense, surely, to simply scribble out the Prideaux entry when the book left the library – there was a separate entry for the Lewis set which gave its shelfmark. While it may simply be an oversight (the note being written before the Prideaux was sent away and Mitchell forgetting to update the entry after the books left), this seems uncharacteristic of Mitchell's assiduous updating of the catalogue. Instead it suggests that the position of the catalogue entry represented a place on the shelf, and when a book replaced the spot of another on the shelf it also replaced its location in the catalogue.

Determining the original order of the catalogue entries could suggest things about its intended use, and the priorities of Ellys and Mitchell in producing it, but given its current fractured

[70] Morrish, p. 219.
[71] Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations: From the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*, Ninth edition (London: Printed for R. Knaplock, and J. Tonson, 1725).
[72] Thomas Lewis, *Origines Hebrææ: : The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick. In Four Books* (London: printed for Sam. Illidge; and John Hooke, 1724-25).

nature it is very difficult to discern how this catalogue was originally ordered. Although the system of access points and cross-references can give some clues, unfortunately none of the clues leads to an entirely satisfying conclusion. It is certain that some entries were given in the order the books stood on the shelves. The entries for the pamphlets, which take up a significant portion of the space on Blickling's shelves, were almost all listed in shelf order. Although we have seen above that some volumes of multiple works (i.e. pamphlets or tracts) were listed under the author or title of the first item, it seems that the vast majority of the hundreds of pamphlet volumes were entered simply under the access point 'Pamphlets', rather than under a more specific access point. The volumes of pamphlets are listed by format (folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo), with each volume given a letter and a shelfmark. Most of the letters and shelfmarks are now crossed out, but it can clearly be seen that the shelfmarks are given in order of physical arrangement, with adjacent volumes listed next to each other. They were listed in the same order as they were stored on the shelves (where we can safely assume they were arranged by size).

There are almost no cross-references between pamphlet volumes listed here and volumes catalogued under author or title, apart from Mitchell's entry:

> Tracts on Christ's Divinity. in 1719-1721. 8vo. NB. It is marked before, under Pamphlets in 8o.
> --- from 1641 to 1659. vid. Pamphlets in 4to.

These entries refer the reader to the 'Pamphlets' section and the size, and the word 'before' in the first entry suggests an alphabetical arrangement of access points, with 'Pamphlets' preceding 'Tracts'.[73]

It is tempting to think that the rest of the catalogue was ordered according to the arrangement on the shelves (which must also presumably have been by size). There are two slips in the catalogue with a large number centered in the top, appearing to mark the beginning of a new section, one of which clearly says '(6)' and '8vo' which seems to indicate numbered sections based on size, with this one being the sixth section made up of octavo volumes. And yet a closer look at the slips confirms this is not the case: many slips have entries for volumes of different sizes, for example the slip with access point 'Ward (Joh.)' which includes works in octavo and

[73] It is not possible now to reliably determine which volumes of tracts these entries refer to.

folio size. If a size arrangement were present, we would expect these works to be on separate slips, originally separated, with the access point duplicated. Instead, the grouping together of all works by Ward, regardless of their size, indicates an alphabetical ordering of the entries. This seems logical, and would be easy to use and produce. And yet this is potentially undermined by the fact that the current alphabetical order (by beginning of entry, whether author or title) is very obviously not the original order based on the non-matching of trimmed off sections of text on adjacent slips.[74] We cannot reconcile this by assuming that the face-down side of the slips will fit in correctly to produce a perfectly alphabetized list, because that would create a serious number problem with the number of books on the shelves not remotely matching the number of entries in the catalogue.

While some print catalogues of the period such as Evelyn's were divided into broad subject sections,[75] it seems that this catalogue prioritized alphabetical order over subject classification when arranging the entries. Many slips list works on vastly different subjects, as for example the entry:

> Boyle (Rob) Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God…
> ------ An Essay about the Origine and Virtues of Gems…
> ------ A Discourse of things above Reason…

A cataloguer would be hard pressed to find a subject category to cover works on such diverse topics as theology, geology, and philosophy – evidently the author's surname is the primary organizing feature here.[76] There is some evidence to suggest that the catalogue was divided

[74] Alphabetical order prevails for the most part in the current version of the slip catalogue. Whoever assembled the volumes was not entirely accurate in alphabetising the entries, putting the entry for 'Alcyonij (Petri)' below the entry for 'Alexandrini (Georg)' – apparently misreading Alcyonij as Aleyonij – and putting a large number of entries beginning 'Cas-' below the 'Cav-' entries.
[75] Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', p. 188.
[76] Robert Boyle, *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect Owes to God, Peculiarly for His Wisedom and Power* (London: Printed by M.F. for Richard Davis, bookseller in Oxford, 1685); *An Essay about the Origine & Virtues of Gems, wherein Are Propos'd and Historically Illustrated Some Conjectures about the Consistence of the Matter of Precious Stones, and the Subjects Wherein Their Chiefest Virtues Reside* (London: printed by William Godbid, and are to be sold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain, 1672); *A Discourse of Things above Reason, Inquiring Whether a Philosopher Should Admit There Are Any Such.* (London: printed by E.T. and R.H. for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion in S. Paul's Church-Yard, 1681).

into two sections, one with all entries listed alphabetically by author's name, and the other with entries arranged by subject. This style of arranging a catalogue arrived in Britain from the Continent in the early eighteenth century and is the same as the organization of Samuel Pepys's catalogue.[77] The entry for 'Abstract of the Historical part of the Old Testament' with Mitchell's note 'vid. Harley' supports this: the main entry is found under the author's name, and a separate secondary entry is given under the first word of the title. If the catalogue grouped together works on the same subject, this would explain why the Lewis entry replaced the position of the Prideaux entry in the catalogue. This system would require two entries for every work, one for each section of the catalogue, which is obviously not the case now. But the potential loss of an unknown number of slips and the invisible entries written on the back of slips mean that this is not an unlikely explanation. Difficult as it is to determine the classification scheme or physical arrangement of Ellys's books, it is certain that Mitchell acted in line with emerging intellectual trends in the ordering of knowledge and information as he sought to use the catalogue to link books related by author, subject, or title. Prosper Marchand (1678-1756)'s numerous sales catalogues embodied a trend of increasing accuracy in bibliographic description, and David McKitterick describes how this period saw the beginning of common parameters for classifying books.[78] Systematic cataloguing is inherently based on comparison between books; whatever its exact rules, Mitchell's organization was certainly based on a comparative cataloguing practice, grouping books with others on similar subjects or of similar size.

Mitchell put considerable work into making sure the library's catalogue was up to date, adding new books as they arrived and improving information about books already in the library. The catalogue was also updated regularly as new information about books became available. *Traité des ponts : ou il est parlé de ceux des romains & de ceux des modernes…* is written anonymously and entered under a title entry in the catalogue, but the author's name (Gautier) was later identified and written on the title page by Maittaire, possibly when the

[77] See Morrish, p. 24; David McKitterick, 'Bibliography, Bibliophily, and the Organization of Knowledge', in *The Foundations of Scholarship: Libraries & Collecting, 1650-1750: Papers Presented at a Clark Library Seminar 9 March 1985* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1992), pp. 31–61 (p. 37); Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', p. 186.
[78] 'Bibliography', pp. 31-32.

second edition, which included the author's name after the dedication, was published.[79] Mitchell adds Gautier's name as an access point in the usual place on the flyleaf verso, and adds a secondary entry under his name with a reference to the main entry under the title. Maittaire evidently consulted the book after Mitchell initially catalogued it, and his information allowed Mitchell to update the catalogue record. A similar thing happened with *A Discourse of the Rise & Power of Parliaments…*, published anonymously.[80] It is entered in the catalogue as 'Parliament. A Discourse of the Rise & Power of Parliaments, of Laws, of Courts of Judicature, &c Lond. 1677. 8vo.'. Added to this, in a different ink but also in Mitchell's hand, is '(By Mr Sheridon)', which seems to have been added later when the author was identified after the catalogue entry was written. 'Sheridon' is also later added as an access point on the flyleaf verso, and a secondary entry is created under the name, with a cross-reference to the main entry under the title.

Secondary entries (i.e. added access points), even when no new information had come to light as in the examples above, were not necessarily always added at the same time as the main entries they are cross-referenced with. For instance the main entry for John Bale's *Acta Romanorum Pontificum, à dispersione Discipulorum Christi* is found under the author's name: 'Balei (Ioan) Acta Romanorum Pontificum…' while the added entry under the title, 'Acta Romanorum Pontificum vid. Baleus.' is in a different ink.[81] Both are in Mitchell's hand, and yet the different inks, and the fact that the title added entry is written more untidily, suggests that he added the title entry on a different occasion. The integration system, therefore, was constantly and repeatedly updated as needed. That the catalogue was compiled iteratively over the life of the library ensured it was up to date, so that books could be easily found and used. This continuous updating reveals the library's dynamic nature and its owner's shifting priorities and interests over time; it demonstrates Mitchell's continuing work to facilitate efficient use of the books. The never-ending work on the catalogue and the

[79] H. Gautier, *Traité des ponts : ou il est parlé de ceux des romains & de ceux des modernes* (Paris: Chez Andre Cailleau, 1716); H. Gautier, *Traité des ponts: ou il est parlé de ceux des Romains & de ceux des modernes*, Nouv. ed... (Paris: Chez A. Cailleau, 1728).
[80] Thomas Sheridan, *A Discourse of the Rise & Power of Parliaments, of Law's, of Courts of Judicature, of Liberty, Property, and Religion, of the Interest of England in Reference to the Desines of France, of Taxes and of Trade* (London: s.n., 1677).
[81] John Bale, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum a Dispersione Discipulorum Christi, Us[Que] Ad Tempora Pauli Quarti Qui Nunc in Ecclesia Tyrannizat* (Frankfurt am Main: Ex officina Petri Brubachij, 1567).

ongoing process of integration ensured the continuing usefulness of the catalogue, and by extension the library.

The presence of the ten-volume manuscript book list, which Mandelbrote and Lewis describe as a second catalogue, complicates this assessment that Mitchell's role was primarily to facilitate use of the library.[82] The original entries are written neatly with no spaces left between them; this seems to have originally been a fair copy rather than a working copy. Entries are arranged alphabetically by author's surname, with the original writing appearing on the verso side of each leaf. It seems this manuscript listed the contents of another library, and that it was produced post-1716 as the latest book in the original list was published in that year. It is clear that this later became Mitchell's working copy – differences in ink indicate his additions were made on separate occasions rather than all at once. The volumes were bound after Mitchell's annotations were added, as his words go into the gutter in more than one place. While it is logical to think that this might be an early attempt by Mitchell to easily produce a library catalogue by performing minor alterations to a ready-made list rather than listing all Ellys's books from scratch, this is not the case. Many of the books added by Mitchell were published well into the 1730s, with one published in 1741, a year before Ellys's death. It is almost certain that production of the slip catalogue had begun by that point. Additionally, Mitchell's additions to the original list do not necessarily correspond to the books in Ellys's collection: this is not a catalogue of this particular library, but a more general bibliography. Comparing this book list and the slip catalogue shows that the integration process and his role in it can also be understood in a broader way, fitting in with contemporary concerns about the volume and value of information available during this period. Materials became cheaper and book production expanded while literacy also increased, and books became more accessible to more people. This led to uneasiness over non-scholars having access to extensive information, and anxiety over the quality of information published. It also meant that it was no longer possible for an individual scholar to own all supposedly worthy books, which was an uncomfortable realization for many.[83] The integration practices in Ellys's collection served to facilitate use, but also implicitly participated in this contemporary debate about the appropriate management and use of over-abundant information.

[82] '[Bibliotheca Auctorum Universalis]', Blickling Hall, No running number; Mandelbrote and Lewis, pp. 22-3.
[83] McKitterick, p.41.

A brief digression into modern theories of knowledge organization will illuminate this further. The concrete representation (in the catalogue) of abstract information (in Ellys's books) can be understood in terms of the WEMI (Work, Expression, Manifestation, Item) model created by the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) to refer to the entities represented at each descriptive level of a catalogue record. The Work is an abstraction, referring to the artistic or intellectual concept of a book – for example the Bible. Less abstract is the Expression: the 'intellectual or artistic realization of a work in the form of alpha-numeric…notation'. This includes revisions and translations of a work, e.g. the Vulgate text of the Bible. More concrete still is the Manifestation, or the 'physical embodiment of an *expression* or a *work*', for example the version of the Vulgate printed in 1540 in Paris by Robert Estienne as *Biblia Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, vrbium, fluuiorum, montium, caeterorúmque locorum quae in Bibliis leguntur, restituta, cum Latina interpretatione*.[84] The final descriptive level is the Item level, which is a 'single exemplar of the *manifestation*', for instance the Blickling Hall copy of Estienne's 1540 *Biblia*, containing Mitchell's M code and bound by the Pecking Crow binder (ca. 1540-1550). [85]

The cataloguing system used for the library's slip catalogue seems to take place across all four levels, but not in the standardized way of modern cataloguing. Bibles, for instance, are entered in the catalogue together, as they are the same Work. Within the group for the Work, the different Expressions are grouped together; the access point 'Biblia' lists below it all Latin and Italian translations of the Bible, while 'Bible' has below it English and French Expressions. Entries under these Expression sub-groups are organized by Manifestation. There are two copies, for example, of *The whole Byble. that is the holy scripture of the Olde and Newe testament faythfully translated into Englyshe by Myles Couerdale, and newly*

[84] *Biblia Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina Nomina Virorum, Mulierum, Populorum, Idolorum, Urbium, Fluviorum, Montium, Caeterorúmque Locorum Quae in Bibliis Leguntur, Restituta, Cum Latina Interpretatione* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, 1540).
[85] International Federation of Library Associations, 'Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records', 1997 (revised 2019) <https://www.ifla.org/files/assets/cataloguing/frbr/frbr_2008.pdf> [accessed 20 August 2020], pp. 17-24.

ouersene and correcte published in Zurich in 1550.[86] Mitchell gives only one entry for this Manifestation, adding an Item note in the left margin of '2 Cop' [i.e. two copies]. Mitchell is evidently aware of the distinction between a Work, an Expression, and a Manifestation, differentiating the Coverdale edition from other English translations of the Bible, and adding a note below the Coverdale entry explaining that 'It was printed at Zurich, & dedicated to K. Edw. VI vid. Lewis p.182, 183'. (This refers to John Lewis's 1739 *Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible, and New Testament, into English, both in MS. and print*, also found in Ellys's library.)[87] Three entries above Coverdale's *Whole Byble* is an entry for his first translation, *The newe testament both in Latine and Englyshe ech correspondente to the other after the vulgare texte, communely called S. Jeromes*, which was published in Southwark in 1535, a different Manifestation from the 1550 *Whole Byble*, and thus entered separately.[88] Mitchell's note below the entry reads 'NB. This is the very first Edition of the Bible in English. rariss. Impf.'[i.e. very rare and imperfect], which comments simultaneously on the rarity of the Manifestation as well as the imperfection of the particular Item.

The entries for single volumes of multiple works, such as Strength out of Weakness, complicate the application of the WEMI model to Mitchell's cataloguing system. The volume listed under the title access point 'Strength out of Weakness' has an M letter code on the front flyleaf of the volume – the letter code therefore does not mark an individual Work, individual Expression, individual Manifestation or individual Item, but instead the physical volume made up of seven separate Works, separate Expressions, separate Manifestations and separate Items. Providing separate access points for each work in the volume, as well as individual publication details under the main entry, mean that description occurs at the Work, Expression and Manifestation levels. And yet the Item level is curiously complicated; it is at once neglected in favour of the somewhat arbitrary grouping-together of separate Works, and

[86] Miles Coverdale, tran., *The Whole Byble That Is the Holy Scripture of the Olde and Newe Testament*, ([Zurich]: printed [by Christoph Froschauer, and S. Mierdman?] for Andrewe Hester, dwellynge in Paules churchyard at the sygne of the whyte horse, and are there to be solde, 1550).
[87] John Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible, and New Testament, into English* (London: Printed by H. Woodfall, for Joseph Pote, bookseller at Eton, 1739).
[88] Miles Coverdale, tran., *Biblia: The Bible, That Is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, Faithfully and Truly Translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe* ([Cologne? Printed by E. Cervicornus and J. Soter?], 1535).

yet the physical association of bound-together items serving as the organizing principle of the entries for all the separate tracts indicates a prioritizing of physical items over abstract works. The large manuscript book list with Mitchell's additions is in opposition to this prioritizing of the Item. As mentioned above, the volumes are not an accurate list of the contents of Ellys's library, nor do they provide any shelfmarks – there is no Item-level description and this is not a catalogue. Was it acquired as a way to easily compare Ellys's collection to another? Was it intended to function as a ready-made wish list?

Examining how the WEMI model pertains to this book list serves to situate Ellys (and Mitchell) in the debate around the worth and quality of the multitude of newly-printed books. It seems that by adding to it, Mitchell may have been using this book as the basis for an attempt to create a universal bibliography. Indeed, it is entered in the slip catalogue as 'Bibliotheca Auctorum universalis, cum editionibus. MStum 10 vol. fol'. And yet he must have known that creating a complete universal bibliography was an impossibly large task, given the number of books in existence. There was therefore a necessary element of discernment and curation, perhaps motivated by an unease with the large number of available books and concerns over their quality. Each entry describes a particular Manifestation of a Work, giving titles and specific bibliographic information. The choice of what to add, as well as the employment of Work and Manifestation levels of description, is invaluable in understanding what books Ellys and Mitchell deemed important or significant. It is not only ideas (Works) but specific concrete representations of those ideas (Manifestations), reified by trusted translators, printers, type-setters and others, that are committed to the pages of this universal bibliography. The reason for this is social as well as intellectual: this list, with Mitchell's additions and annotations, denotes an endeavor to identify all valuable knowledge and even, through representing this knowledge, an attempt to symbolically (and demonstrably) own or master it. This is another way in which a private book collection comes to produce a persona of distinction and status. The physical and intellectual organization of books (which, as cultural capital, are the material manifestation of knowledge) stands in for and is interpreted as the intellectual mastery of knowledge.

Conclusion

Integration is shaped by, and in turn influences, the personal priorities and public reputation of the collector. It is clear that this library's complex and heterogeneous history can be seen as a type of social history, with a diversity of experience and treatment between the books in the integration phase of their life cycles. Examining the behaviours of this collector towards his books during the integration phase and how he turned them into a unified library that was implicitly associated with himself, we can see how these activities or behaviours reveal themselves to be intimately connected to the social and cultural history of the time, in relation to intellectual and bibliographical developments, cultural and linguistic circumstances, and social context. The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates first, that integration was not a one-time event in the life cycle of a book, but was an ongoing and systematic initiative to facilitate the perpetual use of the collection by Ellys and by others. Second, the evidence of integration activities indicates a personalized approach to library management. Access points used in the catalogue were sometimes based on Ellys's interests and priorities such as his family history and his curiosity about the history of the Estienne press. This personalization was initiated and managed by his able librarian, John Mitchell. Third, integration activities were varied, with different books receiving different treatment. Most books were treated as ordinary reading material or intellectual assets in a functional system of checking, binding, and cataloguing. And yet others were treated as objects of admiration and luxury: aesthetic, historical, and financial assets confirming Ellys's level of social status. The personalization inherent to the integration system, along with these seemingly opposed attitudes towards the books, served to consolidate and externalize a persona. These qualities of scholarship and grandeur are apparently incompatible, but through integration come to present a harmonious image of distinction. And finally, integration acted as a way of symbolically mastering an unmanageable amount of information. This was positioned in a time of uneasiness with surging book production and concern with the quality of information available; gathering and organizing books of merit and worth turned the library into an outward display of knowledge and authority.

This evidence may seem conflicting, and its complexity frustrates a desire to neatly classify Ellys's collecting habits in order to understand them. And yet, on reflection, why should we assume that a library of more than 12,000 items would have been developed with only a

single purpose or vision in mind? The library was not solely construed as a collection of artefacts, nor might suggest incoherence, but the motivations are not irreconcilable. Instead, Ellys's library is the product of his times and of his place in society and as such reveals much about the social history of that period and the library itself. It complicates our understanding of notions like luxury, identity, status and cultural capital, and demonstrates Ellys's simultaneous adaptation and resistance to changing circumstances. There is, therefore, an inherent complexity to the integration process, the result of a complexity of purpose and intention behind the collection: it is not a single, static group of objects but the result of a dynamic approach to collecting. A library, as a social being, warrants a social history of its own, and examining this social history in light of the evidence of integration can reveal how this library acted as an expression of Ellys's identity, can demonstrate how he fit that identity into his social circle, and can show how the library and its development fits with wider social and historical trends of the period.

Chapter Four: Use

It should be clear from previous chapters that Ellys's behaviour towards and treatment of his books in the early stages of their life cycles was personal, individualized, and varied, and, unsurprisingly, the same is true of the use phase. The early eighteenth century saw a multiplicity of ways to be an owner or collector of books; Giles Mandelbrote sums this up as the 'density and complexity of book ownership in this period'.[1] Use is more than just reading; multiple behaviours fall into this phase. This chapter will examine all of these activities in relation to the books in Ellys's library. It will distinguish broadly between informational and social uses, but will purposely not attempt to determine an overarching purpose to Ellys's use of his books. This is the value of looking at *use* separately from the other stages: it allows us to observe objectively how someone used their library and to avoid making assumptions about their thoughts and personal motivations for it. A brief reiteration of the distinction between purpose and behaviour is due here. Of course Ellys may have *intended* to read all his books cover to cover, seeing them as reading material to promote the expansion of his mind. And yet it is nonetheless indisputable that books, especially of high quality and in large numbers, also perform a variety of other roles. Examining the evidence of behaviour (Ellys's and others') in the use phase will uncover some of these diverse functions, both intellectual and social.

It is first important to clarify and reiterate that use is a distinct type of activity and a discrete phase in the life cycle of a book. It is clear from the critical literature that acquiring books is different from using them. As Mandelbrote and K.A. Manley note, 'four walls and a few bookshelves do not make a library, only a repository; a library has to be exploited to serve any kind of purpose'.[2] Mark Purcell also observes that 'the history of any library raises certain questions, and one of the most important is the extent to which it is the product of a

[1] Giles Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume 2: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173–89 (p. 177).
[2] 'Introduction: The Changing World of Libraries – from Cloister to Hearth', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume 2: 1640–1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–6 (p. 4).

collecting impulse, and the extent to which its contents were acquired to be used'.[3] While Purcell's distinction here between owners as either readers or collectors is not helpful to my purpose, he nonetheless recognizes the *use* of books as a process or activity distinct from buying and possessing them. Value judgements from Ellys's period also corroborate the distinctness of use behaviours. Debate raged during this period about the usefulness and even morality of collecting, and the character of Nicholas Gimcrack, the eponymous virtuoso of Thomas Shadwell's 1676 play, portrayed in a 1710 issue of *The Tatler* perfectly embodies this debate.[4] The facetious article, in the form of Gimcrack's will, lists among his possessions such items of dubious value as 'a dried cockatrice', 'three crocodile's eggs', 'the nest of a humming-bird', and even 'a whale's pizzle'. Regardless of Gimcrack's possible (though unmentioned) scientific advances made on the basis of these objects, they must be useless when inherited by his wife and children. The article mocks this foolish collector who worships these patently useless articles, passing them along as worthless and doubtlessly unwanted heirlooms to his survivors. Collecting what cannot be productively used, and therefore indulging in acquisition behaviour seemingly without use behaviour, is portrayed as the improvident action of a fool.

But books are different. A book has the obvious potential to be used, in a way that three crocodile eggs and a whale's pizzle do not: a book always *can* be read, even if it *isn't.* Although much suspected and remarked upon by visitors to the National Trust property at Blickling, there is no reason to suppose that the only reason people bought books was to show them off. Indeed, figures of history would surely be insulted by modern observers' assumptions that while *they* only acquired books so that they could furnish their rooms and their egos, *we* are genuinely concerned with and curious about their contents. While discussions of consumption do certainly pertain to the development of a library, 'book buying as overtly conspicuous consumption was the exception rather than the norm' during this period.[5] A likely reason for this notion in the popular imagination is that many books of the

---

[3] Mark Purcell, 'Books and Readers in Eighteenth-Century Westmorland: The Brownes of Townend', *Library History*, 25 (2001), 91–106 (p. 102).
[4] Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso: A Comedy Acted At the Duke's Theatre* (London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman etc., 1676); Joseph Addison, 'The Will of a Virtuoso', *The Tatler*, 216 (1710), 28–29.

[5] Mark Purcell, *The Country House Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 255.

early modern period don't look as if they have been read because they are in fairly good condition; they do not have heavy annotation, their pages are relatively clean, they do not have five or ten names scrawled across the fly leaves, they do not have contents lists, and their owners did not keep copious external notes in commonplace books. This, clearly, is a rather clunky way of thinking about the evidence of reading, and leads to the danger of interpreting unmarked books as unread and, therefore, unused. A lack of extant physical evidence of intensive reading should certainly not lead us to believe that a book was not read in some fashion or other. It is hard to find or interpret evidence for the history of reading. Some owners marked or annotated books but this was by no means universal; a lack of notes certainly does not indicate lack of reading, despite annotation often being used as a rather crude index of reading.

Reading, in turn, is often viewed as the only possible use for a book, but the use stage comprises myriad behaviours beyond reading. Walter Benjamin notes that non-reading is characteristic of book collectors, who value their books not only for their utility as reading material but for a variety of other personal reasons, and it is also very possible that Ellys acquired some books without any intention to use them as reading material.[6] Even in cases where books were never read, it does not follow that they were never used. Book owners exhibit multiple ways of using and owning their books. Some just enjoy them: Gordon N. Ray, in his discussion of contemporary book collectors, differentiates between reading and the satisfaction of physical ownership. Sometimes, he acknowledges, collectors are motivated by the thrill of seeking out and buying the books they desire. 'But for most collectors, of course, the joys of possession outweigh those of acquisition. Knowing that certain books are on his shelves, certain letters and manuscripts in his files, is in itself a source of satisfaction'.[7] This pleasure of ownership does not assume or require reading, and although it is not using books purely as content carriers deriving pleasure from them is still certainly a use behaviour. It is this pleasure-in-ownership style of use for which Nicholas Gimcrack was so mercilessly mocked.

---

[6] Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting', in *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 59–67 (p. 62).

[7] Gordon N. Ray, 'The Private Collector and the Literary Scholar', in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969),pp. 27-81 (p.33).

Multiple, complex, and varied use behaviours exist beyond the personal activities of reading and admiring one's books. In addition to their informational or instructive value, books obviously have a social value. Non-reading use behaviours include a variety of social or cultural activities, which can serve to cultivate or demonstrate social and cultural capital. They are externally-focused, with a putative audience in mind. The examination of the library's social and cultural symbolism requires that we look at these different types of value. Jean Baudrillard posits four types of value or value-creating processes: functional value (roughly parallel to Marx's use value), exchange value, symbolic value (e.g. a gift or a wedding ring), and sign value (e.g. something signaling social status or prestige).[8] There are examples of use behaviours involved in producing all these types of value, and all four types of value can be seen in the use phase of Ellys's books. Before going further, it is crucial to emphasize that this chapter examines a certain group of *behaviours* relating to the use of books, rather than a certain group of *books* singled out for particular activities. A single book could be valued in multiple ways simultaneously. Focusing predominantly on a book's sign value and treatment in a social context in no way precludes functional value and reading behaviours relating to the same book. This is the benefit of looking at behaviours and phases throughout the life cycle, as it allows and affirms multiple purposes, uses, and types of value for a single book.

The presence of books that are uncut and therefore unread confirms that reading was not the sole use of Ellys's library. In the absence of any documentary evidence, and with a profound and frustrating scarcity of physical evidence of reading in the books themselves, we mostly can't tell whether and how carefully a book was read, but there are some we can tell certainly weren't read because their pages have not been cut open. Some of these unopened books are unsurprising, such as *Some thoughts on the woollen manufactures of England : in a letter from a clothier to a member of Parliament* by David Bindon.[9] On the fly leaf is written, in an unknown hand, 'R. Ellys'. Simply knowing that the text (or at least this copy of it) was never read is far from a fully satisfying view of its history, and certainly should not be taken to suggest that this book was not used. This book raises some of the possibilities for use beyond reading: perhaps it was presented to Ellys by a friend or constituent in Lincolnshire with an interest in the wool trade, who wrote the recipient's name in it; the subject likely being of

[8] Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London: Verso, 1997).
[9] David Bindon, *Some Thoughts on the Woollen Manufactures of England* (London: printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1731).

little interest to Ellys, it was never cut open to read. Perhaps, instead, it was Ellys who acquired the book himself and subsequently lent it to an associate who wrote the owner's name in it to prompt its eventual return. As with so many details in this library it is impossible to declare with certainty how or whether this book was used, but the search for certainty is a fool's errand. Instead, this opaqueness should only function to encourage a creative and wide-ranging interpretation of whatever scant evidence can be found.
Some other uncut books might surprise us. The 1704 edition of Jacques Bénigne Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* is cut open and bound, while the *Continuation de l'histoire universelle*, written by Jean de la Barre in the same year as a follow-up to Bossuet's work is uncut and even unbound.[10] Sold in London by Francois and Paul Vaillant, the sequel seems a book of some interest to Ellys that one would expect to be, at the very least, cut open and catalogued by Mitchell. Perhaps the opportunity of reading it never arose; perhaps it was included with Bossuet's first volume at the time of purchasing and was never of interest at all. Another such book on a topic of interest in the library is the *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini*: the catalogue of the library of Harvard university.[11] Printed in 1723 in Boston, the catalogue was presented to Ellys by an acquaintance and bears the inscription 'For – Ellis Esqr' on the cover. The catalogue is not bound but is loosely tacked together with no cover but its title page. Harvard had hoped that Ellys might bequeath his library to the college upon his death, but perhaps his lack of interest in even opening the catalogue presaged the university's eventual disappointment.

But perhaps the most surprising of these uncut books is a Greek New Testament, printed in 1628 in Sedan by Jean Jannon.[12] This is a fascinating little volume: printed in 32mo and measuring just 9.7 x 8.3 cm, it is 'the smallest Greek Testament ever printed, with the exception of Pickering's miniature edition of 1828'.[13] The Jannon volume is based on the text

[10] Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, 10. éd. (Amsterdam: Aux dépens d'É. Roger, 1704); Jean de La Barre, *Continuation de l'histoire universelle de Messire Jacques Benigne Bossuet* (Amsterdam: Aux depens d'Estienne Roger…, & se vend à Londres chez François & Paul Vaillant, 1704).
[11] *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini Quod Est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia* (Boston: Typis B. Green, academiae typographi., 1723).
[12] Jean Jannon, ed.,*Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta [Nouum Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Testamentum]*, (Sedan: Ex typographia & typis nouissimis Ioannis Iannoni, 1628).
[13] 'Item Record: Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta [Nouum Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Testamentum], Sedan: 1628', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20the%20smallest%20Greek%20Testament%20ever%20printed%2C%20with%20the%20exception%20of%20Pickering

of the 1624 Elzevir New Testament, and it is easy to see why this volume would have appealed to Ellys, as the text of the Greek New Testament was of particular academic interest to him. Of additional interest may have been Jannon himself: a prominent and prolific Protestant printer, who trained in Paris with Robert Estienne before relocating to the Calvinist Academy of Sedan. The Blickling copy of this work bears a seventeenth-century quarter-binding in sheep, with marbled paper over boards. The spine title reads 'Nov. Test. Gr. Sedani' in gilt. The front fly leaf bears Mitchell's distinctive 'M' cataloguing code. Given these details, it is peculiar that Ellys never cut open and examined this appealing little book, particularly as it was entered in the catalogue and marked with Mitchell's M code. There is the possibility that this book represents a disjunction between aspiration or purpose (in acquisition behaviour) and actual use behaviour. Ellys may have initially selected it as a desirable artefact because of its uniqueness and historical significance, intending to open and examine its miniscule type in detail at a future date. Perhaps he simply forgot about it after buying it, or decided it wasn't interesting enough to open and read. Perhaps he simply never got around to it as more pressing tasks appeared (something we can all sympathize with). Perhaps, on the other hand, he had never planned to open this book, preferring to deliberately conserve its virginal state by keeping away the defilement of human eyes and hands. Regardless of what decisions he made or didn't make, this small volume serves as an excellent example of the complexity of acquisition and use behaviours. There are several possible purposes embodied in this book; whether the intention to read it was ever among them is not clear, but certainly the book never met with the behaviour of being read.

Given these examples of the opaqueness of much of Ellys's behaviour toward his books, it will be unsurprising to readers that the majority of this chapter is not devoted to a study of his reading habits. In no way, of course, should this be taken to suggest that he was not an avid reader. Indeed, he clearly read and learned a great deal from his books – enough to publish a scholarly work and to gain a reputation for his great knowledge. It is obvious from the evidence of the previous chapter, on integration, that Ellys was keen to make his library accessible and usable. Unfortunately, he was less committed to making his reading behaviour

---

%27s%20miniature%20edition%20of%201828%20%20%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 3 May 2022]; Louis W. Bondy, *Miniature Books: Their History from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (London: Sheppard, 1981); T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: The Bible House, 1903), number 4676.

visible to future historians. Much of the present discussion will therefore be concerned with use activities adjacent to and beyond reading. This is not out of line with much scholarship in the field of library history, which has acknowledged and explored a range of social functions for books. Mandelbrote, for example, posits an increasingly social use of libraries during the eighteenth century. He notes that in the previous century, owners tended to keep their books tidied away in private studies or closed closets and admired and celebrated them as objects of learning. But by the eighteenth century, he observes, 'larger personal collections of books were housed in library rooms, which also acted as a social space; most of the books were in English; they were admired for their "politeness" and the prevailing aesthetic was one of elegance.' He raises the possibility that 'proportionately fewer [books] were being read';[14] but these larger collections must have served some alternate purpose and performed a novel function. A lack of reading is not the same as a lack of use. This is ground for investigating the more varied uses of books that occurred in this period. While it is frustrating not to be able to undertake a full examination of what Ellys read and how he read it, in a sense the evidential challenge is liberating. By necessity, studying this collection demands a serious consideration of what other behaviours are involved in the use of a library, and how we as modern scholars can access and interpret those types of use. Some avenues of exploration (perhaps the majority) will lead to unsatisfying or incomplete conclusions, but there is nonetheless a methodological value to thinking broadly and creatively about use.

This chapter will begin by examining how the library functioned to convey Ellys's identity and form his reputation. Susan M. Pearce discusses the role of collecting in identity-formation, describing it as 'an aspect of individual and social practice which is important in public and private life as a means of constructing the way in which we relate to the material world and so build up our own lives' and this section will explore both the public and private loci of identity-formation.[15] The discussion of self-definition and self-presentation will continue with a discussion of how the library functioned to produce and display social status. Beyond its obvious purpose of educating and enlightening, a private library is 'an essential adjunct to an aristocratic lifestyle'[16] conferring and confirming a persona of distinction.

[14] 'Personal Owners', p. 189.
[15] Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Collecting Cultures (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 4.
[16] Mark Purcell, 'The Country House Library Reassess'd: Or, Did the "Country House Library" Ever Really Exist', *Library History*, 18.3 (2002), 157–74 (p. 162).

Distinction, readers will recall, is a term used by Pierre Bourdieu to indicate the stylization of life or the prioritizing of form over function. Someone can only develop a lifestyle of distinction if they need not be concerned with the meeting of basic necessities. Bourdieu argues that 'cultural consumption [is] predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences'.[17] The cultural capital associated with a library, then, displays social status through distinction. Admittedly Bourdieu is now somewhat outmoded, but his terms are nevertheless relevant and valuable to this discussion. Following this, the chapter will attempt to reconstruct some of the behaviours of readers in the library. Although often invisible in this instance, reading is the most obvious type of use behaviour with respect to books: a book, as has been established, is in essence a piece of technology with the intended purpose of holding and conveying information in the form of words. This section will discuss different types of reading behaviour, attempting to discern, by examining the physical evidence, how different books may have been read differently. The discussion will also turn to some of Ellys's socially-oriented behaviours as evidence of his activities, including his use of catalogues and other reference works as tools to develop and display cultural competence. This section will also describe other potential readers of the books, including Mitchell and several of Ellys's personal associates. The chapter will then turn to an examination of the role of Ellys's books in transactions with others and in the development of his social capital. Purcell notes the centrality of the social element of a library, describing how 'the contents of many libraries show that they existed to fill the leisure time of their owners and their owners' friends'.[18] Often these interactions with friends were transactional, benefiting both the giver and the recipient, as with Ellys's donation of a work to the Spalding Gentlemen's Society or his bestowal of a large collection of pamphlets to another acquaintance. Books were thereby used to form and maintain personal relationships and to establish a social network, and Ellys certainly employed his books to cultivate social capital. The section will end with a short discussion of Ellys's possible positioning of his library as a service to future generations or as a tool to ensure his legacy. The final section of the chapter will describe and discuss the use of the library after Ellys's death. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a shift in the use behaviours of the books as they entered new realms of value as family heirlooms while also enjoying public attention.

[17] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 7.
[18] 'The Country House Library Reassess'd', p. 161.

This discussion will conclude that use of the library was not limited to Ellys's lifetime but continued (albeit in a different mode) in the centuries after his death.

Social signaling

I begin with a discussion of the social uses of the library and its role in Ellys's public life not because there *is* significant evidence of those uses but precisely because there is *not*. My intention is to raise the possibilities proposed by social and cultural theory, and to apply them to Ellys's case *as far as is possible* in order to demonstrate that social signals, however difficult to discern, are inherently embodied in Ellys's library collection. In the absence of much documentary or physical evidence, these social and cultural features take on a larger significance as a context for interpreting the evidence we *do* have.

Ellys must have been aware of the social signals his libraries conveyed, but what is impossible to determine is how consciously he manipulated those social signals for his own ends. Much of this discussion is therefore necessarily tentative. There are some things we simply can't be confidently declarative about. Applying theory to a concrete case is always challenging, and doubly so here because of the lack of documentary evidence. Attempting an examination of Ellys's mind based on an overview of topics represented in his library would do little more than produce a caricature of the man, rather than a richer social history of the library. Instead, this section is intended to act more as an exposition of the social and cultural landscape of Ellys's library, at times proposing tentative possibilities but always intentionally and self-consciously avoiding a fully satisfying conclusion of Ellys's view of himself, his conscious presentation of his reputation, and his attempts at solidifying his social status. When discussing the use of books in a social capacity, it is first crucial to examine how a library or collection of books is connected to their owner. As an observer, it is difficult to separate a person's material possessions from their visible persona. Whether or not a library is developed with the explicit purpose of curating a reputation for intellect or taste, it is nonetheless the case that a reputation of some sort must be the result. Things mean things to and about people, and collected objects are used as tools of self-definition and self-presentation. (*Collectors* is used in this context, for lack of a better word, to refer to all types of owners of large groups of objects or libraries; this is not intended to reprise the discussion

from above about *collectors* as a certain type of library owner.) Janet Hoskins describes how people can use objects as 'part of a narrative of self-definition'.[19] She outlines how Violette Morin differentiates between protocol objects (i.e. commodity objects) and biographical objects; the former is 'not a personal experience but a purchasing opportunity', while the latter is part of a process of identity formation for the owner which 'anchors the owner to a particular time and space'. Biographical objects allow their owners to 'develop their personalities and reflect on them', while 'consumers of public commodities are decentered and fragmented by their acquisition of things'.[20] Collecting turns protocol objects into biographical objects.

Ellys's use of books in his self-definition can be seen to fit into either of these modes. Certainly it is possible to see luxury books like the *Cabinet du Roi* volumes or the catalogues of book sales as protocol objects, the former acquired opportunistically and treated as a desirable commodity, and the latter acquired with a specific use in mind of browsing or selecting from among the offered books. But both these examples can also be interpreted as biographical objects, with the *Cabinet du Roi* books defining Ellys as a man of deep financial resources and aesthetic taste, and the catalogues confirming Ellys as a serious and knowledgeable book buyer. Of course, both categories may pertain to both examples; there is no reason to suppose that Ellys's attitude and feelings towards his various books were as clear-cut as Morin's dichotomy supposes. Russell W. Belk goes further in his assessment of collecting as a process of self-definition, arguing that 'the cultivation of a collection is a purposeful self-defining act'.[21] Belk explains this by identifying collected possessions as an aspect of the 'extended self' which are used differently from objects not seen as part of this extended self.[22] Objects become part of this extended self when they are conquered, produced or bought, or intimately known (e.g. collected).[23] Collectors feel connected to the objects they own in a way that seems irrational in the normal order of things; the collection instead is used

[19] Janet Hoskins, 'Agency, Biography and Objects', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 74–84 (p. 78).
[20] Violette Morin, 'L'objet biographique', *Communications*, 13.1 (1969), 131–39 <https://doi.org/10.3406/comm.1969.1189>. Quoted and discussed in Hoskins, p. 78.
[21] Russell W. Belk, 'Possessions and the Extended Self', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15.2 (1988), 139–68 (p. 154).
[22] ibid., p. 140.
[23] ibid., p. 150.

as a form of self-expression, demonstrating an individual's choices and priorities.[24] Collected objects are distinct – no longer fungible commodities, they become 'singular object[s] that [are] no longer freely exchangeable for something of similar economic value'.[25] So the value of a collected object ceases to be monetary and becomes something else.

This new realm of value, Pearce argues, is personal and performative. A collector uses 'objects, like language, to create and project the image of himself and how he sees the world'. She further breaks down the use of objects for self-presentation into three modes: souvenir, fetishistic, and systematic. A souvenir collector uses objects to create a physicalized autobiography, with objects at the service of the collector to explore his or her life. To a fetishistic collector the objects are dominant and the collector has an obsessive need to gather them; the objects in a sense create the self. A systematic collector is ostensibly intellectual, ordering and completing sets to demonstrate his understanding. 'Each collecting mode sums up a different individual relationship to the material world' but they are not mutually exclusive.[26] Indeed, it is perfectly possible that Ellys inhabited two or even three of these modes in his use of his collected books. A likely example of systematic collecting, and the use of books in Ellys's self-definition, lies in the catalogues of large and renowned private libraries. The Blickling copies of the *Catalogus Bibliotecae Thvanae*, the *Bibliothecae Cordesianae Catalogus*, and others like them certainly serve to highlight Ellys's knowledge of the history of book collecting and private libraries.[27] Collecting catalogues of illustrious collectors of previous generations can be an attempt to emphasize shared passions, interests, and knowledge and to claim a shared cultural competence with these men. Gordon N. Ray discusses the desire of book collectors to feel part of a collecting 'club';[28] in addition to knowledge of the past, then, Ellys may have felt that he was participating in the same realm

[24] Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 66 and 89.
[25] Russell W. Belk, 'Collectors and Collecting', in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 534-541 (p. 534).
[26] *On Collecting*, p. 32.
[27] Pierre Dupuy, Jacques Dupuy, and Ismael Boulliau, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae* (Paris: Impensis directionis. Prostat in eadem bibliotheca. Et apud Dom. Levesque directionis notarium, viâ S. Severini., 1679); Gabriel Naudé, *Bibliothecæ Cordesianæ Catalogus. Cum Indice Titulorum* (Paris: Excudebat Antonius Vitray ... Prostant exemplaria apud Laurentium Saunier ..., 1643).
[28] Gordon N. Ray, 'The Private Collector and the Literary Scholar', in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969),pp. 27-81 (p. 34).

as the owners of these great libraries, and these catalogues confirmed his status as being on par with them. A shared cultural competence is the key to entry in this putative club or network of book collectors, and the catalogues, in addition to being used as tools of acquisition, served to connect Ellys through objects to those from whom time separated him.

This brings us to collecting as a process of self-presentation, oriented towards and depending on the observation or interpretation of others; evidently collections serve to create relationships with others as well as relationships with the self.[29] They function as a performance, both for observers and the collector himself.[30] Collectors are and always have been aware of how they are regarded. In 1657, for example, William Rand published a book and dedicated it to John Evelyn 'as a man who displayed "the Principalitie of learned Curiositie in England"'. Evelyn interpreted this as praise of him as a collector. Marjorie Swann describes how 'Evelyn's instinctive association of his status as a noteworthy individual with his reputation as a collector exemplifies how a virtuoso expected the "curiosity" aroused by the objects he possessed to be transferred to himself as the objects' owner'.[31] A collection fulfils a specific psychic and social role of demonstrating knowledge; thus a collection itself *becomes* knowledge as it constitutes the underpinnings of observable information.[32] This view of a collection as representing the whole of knowledge requires a metaphorical leap, and an accompanying metonymic leap transfers the sum of knowledge represented by the collection onto the collector himself.

Pearce argues that collecting construes identity through the social demands of the world, relationships with others, the ordering of personal space, and the collector's view of his own place in the passage of time.[33] Direct evidence of Ellys's use of his books as a tool of self-presentation is limited, but it is certain that the position of his collection in the physical space of his home served to solidify and portray his persona. Unfortunately, there is minimal indication of how the books were physically arranged in his library room, but it is certain that he had a discrete space for his collection. Maurice Johnson, founder of the Spalding

[29] Pearce, *On Collecting*, p. 176.
[30] Sean Silver, *The Mind Is a Collection : Case Studies in Eighteenth-Century Thought*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), p. 5.
[31]Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 76-77.
[32] Pearce, *On Collecting*, pp. 111 and 301.
[33] ibid., p. 272.

Gentlemen's Society, wrote to his brother John in 1738 of Ellys's plans to expand his library space:

> S[r] Richard Ellys has at length gotten the House Next adjoining to his Noble Library and is about adding all the Rooms of the same floor which is on the first Storey to It.[34]

James Raven calls the library a 'symbolic and designated environment' in which to house ones' books, even in a private, domestic space.[35] This parallels the coeval development of the private sphere, which is differentiated from the public arena and which became an important site of cultural consumption in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[36] Pearce also notes how 'collected material helps us to define our domestic space', helping to shape notions of privacy and appropriate domestic activities.[37] Raven elsewhere notes that:

> Privacy was an important feature of the collecting urge. Collections were often to be shared with family, friends, and admirers (including cognoscenti who came from far to visit the more famous collections), but the passion was seen as an individual one, with private space associated with the collecting habit. The resort, the enclosure, the sanctuary for such activity, after composed orders sent to booksellers or the personal rifling of bookshops, was the private library.[38]

However, 'the characterization of many of these libraries as either "private" or "public" is ambiguous', as Raven cautions, since many of these seemingly private rooms 'were designed for display or for use by friends and neighbours'.[39] The early eighteenth century saw library rooms increasingly used as public spaces for socializing within the home rather than private rooms for study, and their contents increasingly used for social purposes of lending, discussion, and exhibition. Indeed, Johnson's letter continues that 'It will become then the

---

[34] Maurice Johnson, 'Part of a Letter from Maurice Johnson to John Johnson', in *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society: 1710-1761*, ed. by D. Honeybone and M. Honeybone, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 99 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 116.
[35] James Raven, 'From Promotion to Proscription: Arrangements for Reading and Eighteenth-Century Libraries', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 175-201 (p. 201).
[36] Ann Bermingham, 'Introduction: The Consmption of Culture: Image, Object, Text', in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1–20 (p. 10).
[37] *On Collecting*, p. 270.
[38] James Raven, 'Debating Bibliomania and the Collection of Books in the Eighteenth Century', *Library & Information History*, 29.3 (2013), 196–209, pp. 200-1.
[39] 'From Promotion to Proscription', p. 176.

generall rendezvous of all his Reading Friends,' confirming that Ellys's library was not secreted away in a private room but was well-known and well-attended among his social circle, forming part of the basis for his reputation and public persona.[40]

Messages were conveyed through the type of books present in a gentleman's library, how they were stored, and the manner of their treatment. Architectural features further underscored the library room as an arena of presentation and exhibition. Library books were co-housed with other material artefacts of interest like coins, medals, and specimens of natural history, which could be exhibited and shown off to visitors.[41] Although we do not know how Ellys stored and arranged his non-book collections (e.g. his numismatic artefacts), it seems likely that they were kept in his library room. Certainly his other collections were implicitly associated with his library, with both books and numismatic collection acting as indexes of erudition, metonymically transferring their intellectual value to their owner.

A semi-public and (crucially) visible library collection has a clear function of displaying social status to outsiders. Status demonstration is not the same as self-presentation. Not every collected item displays status. Self-presentation is an inherent function of collecting, whereas status demonstration is a behaviour in the use phase of a book's life cycle. Again, it is important to note that this wasn't necessarily Ellys's primary goal, but regardless of how much he did or did not intend to mark his social status through his library, that was one of its primary functions (and remains so today). Book collecting has an undeniable role in the development and portrayal of social status. More than just owning a lot of books, owning a *library* has a mystique around it that is visible and enviable to others. Hoskins explains how people use objects to symbolically proclaim their interests, politics, intellectual capacity, and social status.[42] Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker note how 'the pile of books on the coffee table today impresses on you the wealth and cultivation of the owner' just as a book in the eighteenth century had the ability to display status by proclaiming both the intellectual and financial capacity of its owner.[43] Pearce identifies collecting as an attempt to secure prestige and legacy, legitimizing the collector's status through his ability to transform money

[40] Johnson, 'Part of a Letter from Maurice Johnson to John Johnson'.
[41] Raven, 'From Promotion to Proscription', pp. 176-7.
[42] pp. 75-6.
[43] Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book', in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clark Lectures 1986-1987*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1993), p. 9.

into nobility.[44] Belk describes how the purposefulness, time, and energy devoted to collecting makes collected objects into a more fundamental piece of one's self than other objects; the ordering of collected objects, and the collector's total control over the collection expresses this very intimate association with the self. Success in collecting brings on feelings of accomplishment and personal pride to the collector; externally, these collected possessions are interpreted as an index of success in life more generally, as they demonstrate prowess, superior knowledge, and monetary resources.[45] Collected objects, regardless of their intrinsic value, signify sufficient leisure time and economic resources to undertake a pursuit unnecessary to the everyday human quest for survival and are therefore objects of status. To use Bourdieu's definition, these objects embody cultural capital.

Although a single book may signal knowledge or wealth, the integration of multiple books into a complete library compounds this cachet into an undeniable symbol of status. Swann provides Robert Cotton as an example of this, noting that his collection of antiquities and manuscripts acted as a 'display of his social authority' and served to construct his identity and status.[46] This social authority requires not just social status but recognition as an expert. While Ellys was not a contemporary of Cotton and his collection is arguably not as significant as Cotton's, there is nonetheless evidence of Ellys's considerable social authority and status. His reputation as a man of knowledge and expertise is underscored by the many bibliographical reference works and catalogues in the library as well as his well-documented 'specialist knowledge and particular skills'.[47] Whereas most gentlemen's libraries consisted of recent publications and periodicals, early and unusual books like many of Ellys's were seen as being for 'the aspiring scholar [or] antiquarian'.[48] The very old and rare, therefore, functioned as markers of intellectual status.

This scholarly and antiquarian reputation seems to be one that Ellys valued and sometimes showed off. For example the beautifully illuminated Haggadah manuscript, described in detail in the Acquisition chapter, seems to have been used for this purpose.

---

[44] *On Collecting,* p. 232.
[45] Belk, 'Possessions and the Extended Self', p. 154 and *Collecting in a Consumer Society,* pp. 68 and 87.
[46] p. 112.
[47] Giles Mandelbrote and Yvonne Lewis, *Learning to Collect: The Library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)* (London: National Trust, 2004), p. 4.
[48] Raven, 'From Promotion to Proscription', 187.

Figure 5 Haggadah manuscript (copyright National Trust)

Its entry in Mitchell's catalogue reads, 'Passover. The Ritual, Order, & Prayers used by the Jews at the celebration of the Passover, a MS in Hebrew, on Vellum, & adorned with figures finely illuminated. Fol. in a case.'.[49] This is the only recorded instance of any of Ellys's books being kept in a case. The case would have allowed visitors to the library to admire and appreciate its uniqueness and stunning appearance of bright colours and immaculate text. This obviously expensive and prized manuscript reflected its owner's status as one with the money to afford, the knowledge to understand, and the taste to select such a treasure. Similarly, a series of historic maps of Ireland is entered into Mitchell's catalogue as, 'Petty (Sir Will.) His Maps of Ireland printed 1689 (No 36) finely illuminated very scarce. Avec une Description d'Irlande, & un Memoire de l'Estat auquel se trouvoient les principals places d'Irlande en 1688. MS. tres bien ecrit. fol. Done for the use of K. James 2.'.[50] Particular

[49] '[Haggadah for Passover with the Commentaries of Isaac Abravanel ('Leipnik Haggadah')].' ([Altona], 1739), Blickling Hall, Running number 6929.
[50] This is presumably William Petty, *A Geographicall Description of Ye Kingdom of Ireland* (London: engraven & publ. by F. Lamb. Sold at his house. By R. Morden. And by W. Berry,

attention is drawn to the scarcity of the printed maps, the quality of their illumination, and the fine hand of the accompanying manuscript, as well as to their connection to King James II. The attraction of these items was presumably enhanced by their association with the turmoil of James II's reign and the ultimate downfall of his Catholic monarchy.

These maps were not shelved uniformly with the rest of Ellys's books; a pencil note in the margin next to the catalogue entry reads 'Cabinet V'. Possibly they were kept in a separate cabinet in the library room because they were awkward to shelve, being poorly bound. Perhaps, though, 'Cabinet V' signified a separate storage room or study room where the maps were kept for safekeeping or consultation. The word 'cabinet' may also recall the curiosity cabinets of the seventeenth century, in which collectors stored and displayed their unusual specimens of natural history. These cabinets carry with them connotations of exhibition and shared appreciation, and it is possible that Ellys's 'Cabinet V' was routinely opened to visitors to reveal the exciting contents linked to the Glorious Revolution and the exile of the country's last Catholic monarch which symbolically tie Ellys to this definitive episode in British history. As always, it is impossible to be certain what particularly activity or use was signified by the 'Cabinet V' note, but several interesting possibilities present themselves. Regardless of the significance of 'Cabinet V', the location given next to the catalogue entry marks this high-status object as noteworthy and distinct from the items entered around it in the catalogue. Much like the maps of Ireland and their implicit link to an event of historical significance, Belk argues that social status can also be attained through possessing objects that remain part of the extended self of others.[51] Chapter two identified a motivation for acquisition as being the association with a notable figure, and it is clear again from examining Ellys's use behaviour that he derived social status from this association with a prominent figure. An example is John Dauncey's *The History of His Sacred Majesty Charles II…till this present year 1660*, which is bound in an English royal binding with the crown and cipher 'CR' presumably referring to King Charles II himself.[52] These volumes, prominently associated with royal figures, announce the high social position of their owner. Rather than a showy display of status (although I do not mean to definitively suggest that these weren't on

1689), which included accompanying maps. The volume, maps, and accompanying manuscript referred to by Mitchell are no longer to be found at Blickling.

[51] 'Possessions and the Extended Self', p. 149.

[52] John Dauncey, *The History of His Sacred Majesty Charles the II* (London: Printed for James Davies…, 1660).

display like the Haggadah), these are a personal confirmation of Ellys's social status as an acquaintance of rulers.

While the above examples proclaim status symbolically or at a remove, being evidence of taste, discernment, economic resources and personal connections, the library contains at least one example of an overt demonstration of status. Sir William Dugdale's 1680 *The Ancient Usage in bearing of such Ensigns of Honour as are commonly called Arms etc.*is a catalogue of Baronets created by King James, and the Ellis (i.e. Ellys) family is found on page 120 as number 509.[53] The page is marked by a white ribbon. Even if not displayed to others, it is evident that this book was used to confirm the family's social position. Like Sir Walter Eliot of Jane Austen's *Persuasion*, whose *Peerage* fell open by itself at the page where his own family was listed, the owner of this book felt the urge more than once to return to see the evidence of this great honour. The book was used – possibly often – but this one page seems to be of more interest than the rest. Even if the ribbon was repositioned after Ellys's death, the grubbiness of this page compared to the others strongly indicates its appeal.

Reading

While signaling capital and status certainly were use behaviours that Ellys engaged in, in no way do I mean to suggest that this was the only way he used his books. The twentieth-century myth that eighteenth-century libraries were populated with books never intended to be read but instead used as furnishings is false and misleading. While certainly Ellys's books likely did function as objects of display and even room décor, it is clear that he definitely read some or many of them. The difficulty is in determining which ones: it is nearly impossible to determine with certainty which of his books Ellys read and which he did not, because he simply didn't leave behind much physical evidence. To begin with, it is necessary to clarify what I mean by reading. There are many ways to read a book; the notion that 'reading' a book involves turning every page and reading every word is obviously overly simplistic. As Francis Bacon put it, 'Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to

[53] William Dugdale, *The Ancient Usage in Bearing of Such Ensigns of Honour as Are Commonly Call'd Arms*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: s.n., 1682).

be chewed and digested'.[54] Some books may of course be read thoroughly and intensively, but others may be opened only occasionally in order to check some particular page or section. Some may be returned to repeatedly and lovingly re-read, while others may be begun and eventually abandoned to languish on the shelf for decades. Some are examined, some are consulted, some are scanned, some are studied, some are memorized; some require deliberation or discussion with other readers; some merit extensive note-taking and extractions; some are promptly forgotten. In most cases, it is not easy to tell how Ellys read his various books. It is possible to discern that some books were studiously and assiduously read while others were consulted in sections and still others were used primarily as reference works. The following discussion will examine what paltry evidence remains of his reading behaviour by looking at bindings, catalogue entries, annotations, bookmarks, and documentary evidence. It will then go on to draw attention to library readers besides Ellys himself, who have left behind clues in the books of their reading activities.

Some texts were clearly read selectively. The library contains two years' worth of issues of the *New Memoirs of Literature*, which was issued monthly from 1725-27; as mentioned in the Acquisition chapter, this magazine listed new books printed and for some gave reviews and/or summaries.[55] The issues are printed in quarto and are typically made up of three gatherings. Many of the issues in Ellys's library are not fully cut open and so couldn't have been read all the way through. Yet even in these unopened issues the initial gathering, in which was printed the table of contents, is cut open. Similarly, the final gathering of most issues is cut open to reveal the list of books recently printed. The middle gathering, where the lengthier reviews and news items were printed, are rarely opened. The issues were evidently all put to some use, even if they were not read cover-to-cover; Ellys (or possibly Mitchell) was interested in some, but not all, of the contents. It is a very pragmatic way of reading: the table of contents was consulted to determine if one of the articles or reviews inside was of sufficient interest to warrant a closer look. Looking over the book lists is clearly an aspect of browsing, staying on top of newly-available materials for potential purchase. Interestingly, the issues almost all have Mitchell's M cataloguing code on their cover or fly leaf and the

[54] Francis Bacon, 'L. Of Studies', in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary by Michael Kiernan* (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 152–54 (p. 153).
[55] De la Roche, Michel, ed., *New Memoirs of Literature: Containing an Account of New Books Printed Both at Home and Abroad, with Dissertations upon Several Subjects, Miscellaneous Observations. &c.* (London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, 1725-27).

publication is listed in his slip catalogue. This meant that Ellys and/or Mitchell would be able to easily find them if they wished to return to the magazine to consult its contents at a later date. The bindings of the *New Memoirs of Literature* also indicate how their contents were read. The issues are not bound together in volumes; instead the individual issues are tacked with string and covered in blue-grey paper. Items like these in cheap or temporary paper bindings are simply harder to read. The paper covers do not give the necessary support to the pages when being held. The same is true of the untrimmed edges of many of the library's bound and unbound books, which do not protect the leaves from clumsy fingers liable to tear them when turning pages. These paper bindings suggest a specific type of reading behaviour that is non-intensive. Many of these books (with untrimmed edges or in paper bindings) were subject to the same integration activities as the library's bound and trimmed items. Most have an M code and appear in the catalogue. Like the *New Memoirs of Literature*, the *Description de l'Hotel de Ville d'Amsterdam* has an M code and Mitchell's short title opposite the title page, and is entered in the catalogue, but is nevertheless softly bound in marbled paper with no boards and with untrimmed edges.[56] Presumably these untrimmed or soft bound books were not required to hold up to frequent page-turning, as intensive reading would be difficult and would inflict damage. It is possible that books like these were of no interest and were never read, but it is also perfectly feasible that they were seen more as ephemera to be briefly or infrequently consulted but not intended to be thoroughly studied. While they may have been carefully kept and indefinitely preserved, they were subject to only sporadic consultation.

A lot of information on use behaviour in fact comes from observing and examining practices from the integration stage. This is particularly the case with integration activities designed to facilitate reading, with another example being contents lists. In cases where Ellys listed the contents of volumes himself it seems likely that the volume was used mostly for occasional consultation, with the contents list enhancing usefulness by facilitating navigation and the finding of specific pieces of information. In *Lamentations for the death of the late illustrious Prince Henry* we find a contents list in Ellys's hand, accompanied by Mitchell's M

[56] *Description de l'Hotel de Ville d'Amsterdam avec les explications de tous les emblems, figures, tableaux, statuës &c qui se trouvent au-dehors, et au-dedans de ce bâtiment* (Amsterdam: J. Ratelband,[1737]).

cataloguing code.[57] Evidently both men handled this book during the integration process. Unlike most books that Mitchell catalogued, Ellys separately marked this one as an object of particular interest by adding his own contents list for his use and convenience. The adding of a contents list also suggests that a book was consulted with a degree of frequency – the job of adding a list, while not huge, represents an investment of time that must envisage an eventual future reward. While not providing hard evidence of Ellys's own reading, much of Mitchell's integration behaviour indicates a desire for usability and convenience. As discussed in the previous chapter, he frequently notes where pages or plates have been bound in the wrong position in order to simplify the reader's task: such as in Ralph Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis, or the history of the church of Leeds in Yorkshire* where he notes on the fly leaf that the plates are wrongly bound and marks their proper positions.[58] Humphrey Llwyd's *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum* further demonstrates Mitchell's attention to the reader, as he has made corrections to the text throughout based on the errata list given at the end of the book.[59] This is a mundane and surely boring task that is not absolutely necessary, and yet undoubtedly facilitates smooth reading. Additionally, this would make it easier to find a specific piece of information without having to check the errata at the back. Ellys may have asked Mitchell to undertake these emendations, or Mitchell may have been using his own initiative, but either way it suggests that the book was intended to be read in some fashion.

Entries in Mitchell's slip catalogue can also provide evidence of reading. The entries for the collection's numerous Bibles, for instance, suggest that these works were carefully examined. Bible entries tend to give a lot of information about the edition or translation of the Bible, and often give notes about their component parts (e.g. which Gospels or books are included, or specifics about any commentary provided). This illustrates a high level of knowledge about the Bible, its parts, and its history, and indicates a requirement that this information be recorded in the entry. This is unsurprising given Ellys's scholarly research on the Bible and

[57] Daniel Price, *Lamentations for the Death of the Late Illustrious Prince Henry* (London: Printed by Tho. Snodham, for Roger Iackson, and are to be sould at his shop neere to Fleetstreet Conduit, 1613).
[58] Ralph Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis, or, The History of the Church of Leedes in Yorkshire* (London: printed for Joseph Smith, from Exeter-Change, near the Fountain-Tavern in the Strand, 1724).
[59] Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentvm* (Cologne: Apud Ioannem Birckmannum, 1572).

its history and translation, which explains the level of detail in these entries. It suggests that he owned these various Bibles not simply for purposes of worship or casual Sunday reading, but that he studied them in a comparative manner. Although he wrote in almost none of the Bibles, it is nonetheless clear that he employed them for rigorous study and required suitably detailed catalogue entries in order to differentiate between them without taking them off the shelves.

Other notes in the catalogue entries also indicate an attention to the books' informational and textual value. An entry in the elegant hand (see previous chapter about the different hands that appear in the catalogue) for 'Blackmore (Sir Rich.) A Treatise of Consumptions & other Distempers belonging to the breast & Lungs. Lond. Pemberton. 1724. 8vo. G2 22' is directly above another entry reading 'ide, 2d edit: Lond, Pemberton, 1725. 8vo. G 2 23'.[60] A note in the hand of the second entry reads 'Both edit: preserved because of preface.'. Evidently, the different prefaces in the two editions are thought to be significant enough to warrant keeping both copies of the same text. While this may be the result of an inclination to preserve textual heritage, it likely shows an interest in the contents of the two prefaces and a desire to compare them. Whether Ellys read and wished to remember their words, or intended to read them in the future, this seems more than a cursory attempt to have the unglamorous subject of respiratory diseases comprehensively represented on the library shelves.

While these integration activities point towards certain types of use, the most commonly identified (and most easily identifiable) sign of reading is annotation; unfortunately Ellys annotated very few of his books, so the vast majority of annotations in the collection are from other readers. By far, the book he annotated the most heavily is the Greek New Testament printed in Geneva in 1620.[61] It is not surprising to find that Ellys read critically and took careful notes on this work, as the New Testament was the field of his own academic study. This is a clear example of intensive and thorough reading, with Ellys engaging with the text as he read it all the way through. The volume was bound in the nineteenth century, well after

[60] Richard Blackmore, *A Treatise of Consumptions and Other Distempers Belonging to the Breast and Lungs* (London: printed for John Pemberto, at the Buck and Sun, over against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet, 1724); *A Treatise of Consumptions and Other Distempers Belonging to the Breast and Lungs*, the second edition, corrected (London: Printed for John Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun, over against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet, 1725).
[61] *Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta [Nouum Iesu Christi D. N. Testamentum]* (Geneva: Apud Petrum de la Rouiere, 1620).

Ellys's death, with his pages of notes interleaved. The notes disappear into the gutter and so must have been written on unbound or loosely-bound sheets, which were later bound between the printed pages of the volume. These extensive annotations suggest that Ellys may have done the same with other books – reading closely and taking separate notes – but unfortunately this is the only surviving example of significant note-taking. If he ever kept a commonplace book or loose leaves of notes they have long since disappeared. This is not the only book interleaved with unprinted sheets. Although it was certainly not his typical practice, there are several books in the library that must have been bound under Ellys's instructions (based on the style of binding and the date of publication) with blank pages either at the end or throughout. Oddly, the 1620 New Testament is one of the only ones in which these blank pages are filled in with Ellys's notes. The vast majority, such as a volume containing *Extrait du registre de l'assemblée tenue à Paris sous le nom d'estats en l'an 1593, sur le Concile de Trente* and *De Justa et Canonicae Absolutione Henrici IV*, are left blank.[62] These books seem to have been constructed to facilitate convenient note-taking in the course of reading but, although it should definitely not be taken as evidence that these books were never read, the blank pages suggest that some envisioned purpose was never met. Perhaps by the time the binding was complete Ellys had entered the long period of ill health that preceded his death in 1742. Whatever the reason, the added expense of adding the blank pages was to be in vain.

Ellys's annotation activities indicate several purposes behind his reading. For the most part, his annotations in his books indicate a critical engagement with the texts. La Popeliniere's *L'Histoire de France*, for instance, has Ellys's note on the front fly leaf verso, 'Le Père Daniel se sert souvent de cet Auteur, & le cite avec éloge'.[63] This intertextual approach to his reading marks Ellys as widely-read and studious, aware of how his books interact with each other and making connections between texts. The comment additionally reinforces this text as important and significant, confirming its authority by referring to an external source. But other annotations are evidence of Ellys reading his books to learn facts, and adding marginal comments as an aid to memorization. The first volume of *The General History of England,*

[62] *Extrait du registre de l'assemblée tenue à Paris sous le nom d'estats en l'an 1593, sur le Concile de Trente* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1594); *De Justa & Canonica Absolutione Henrici IIII... Ex Exemplari in Italia Excuso* (Paris: [Robert Estienne?], 1594).
[63] Lancelot-Voisin La Popelinière, *L'histoire de France Enrichie Des plus Notables Occurrances Suruenues* ([La Rochelle]: De l'imprimerie par Abraham H., 1581).

both Ecclesiastical and Civil; From the Earliest Accounts of Time, to the Reign of His Present Majesty, King William III by James Tyrrell, published in 1697, was obviously heavily used and carefully read.[64] The margins of the volume contain numerous pencil notes in Ellys's hand. The hand, while almost certainly his own based on letter shapes and spacing, is unusually untidy and full of abbreviations. In some cases, he added to the beginning or end of a line the adjacent word from the preceding or following line: a practice difficult to explain (why add a word that can be easily seen by flicking the eyes six inches to the left and a quarter inch down?) but which presumably aided with ease of reading or comprehension. (Further facilitating reading are the bookmarks inserted at the beginning of each of the six sections of the volume. There is also a small sheet of paper inserted at page 286, with Ellys's handwritten contents list of the six works. On the verso of this sheet is a list of names dated 21st October, 1699.) Many of the notes do no more than repeat a keyword, add a small explanatory note (such as where Ellys notes that a Hide is a hundred acres), or add small crosses in the margins to highlight passages of particular importance. It seems that he was reading through this information and attempting to commit facts to memory; his notes do not critique the text, but serve to facilitate his learning. The date of publication, when Ellys was fifteen years old, as well as the bookmark from when he was seventeen and the unusually untidy hand, suggests this book may have been read as part of his education in his youth. On the rear fly leaf and pastedown he wrote a simplified timeline of the events of the period's history, listing the kings and their notable deeds. Certainly, the notes in this volume do not generally exhibit the same critical engagement with the text that others of Ellys's annotations show. There are two minor exceptions to this. The first is to be found on p. 221 where, next to the account of the year 731, Ellys has written in the margin 'Bede 736'. This could refer to a page number, but this is unlikely as editions of the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* generally run to fewer than 600 pages. It is also possible that the note indicates Ellys's belief that Bede recounts these events as occurring in the year 736; however, since Bede concluded his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* in 731 and died in 735, this would be an error. Later, on p. 338, Ellys has added a note at the bottom reading, 'Guy Earl of Warwick conquered ye Danish Gyant' – likely another emendation to add an event omitted in the published text. Below Ellys's note, an unknown hand has added in ink, 'this story is

[64] James Tyrrell, *The General History of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil: From the Earliest Accounts of Time, to the Reign of His Present Majesty, King William III* (London: printed, and are to be sold by W. Rogers, in Fleetstreet…, 1697).

suspected'. This may also hint at Ellys's having studied this book in his youth, adding in the events of legends with the credulity of adolescence and being corrected by his teacher.
One final example of Ellys's annotation provides a further mystery. *Aerius Redivivus: or the History of the Presbyterians*, published London 1672, has on its front fly leaf a stanza from *Hudibras* in Ellys's hand.[65]

> Then, wherefore may not you be Skip'd
> And in your Room another Whip'd.
> For all Philosophers but the Sceptick,
> Hold Whipping may be sympathetick.
> Hudibrass: Part: 2 Conto 2[66]

The stanza is from a passage in which the knight Hudibras and his squire Ralpho are arguing over how Hudibras can avoid the whipping that the widowed object of his desire has insisted he undergo. It is somewhat unexpected to see a verse from Samuel Butler's poem *Hudibras* in Ellys's hand, as the mock-epic poem derides the anti-Royalist Puritans among them Ellys's own ancestors. Perhaps he simply found it amusing. (The library also has a copy of the full text of *Hudibras*, published in London by John Baker in 1709-1710, which is unannotated.)[67] The general lack of notes or marginalia in Ellys's hand in his library shouldn't lead us to believe he wasn't an assiduous reader; his few annotations clearly demonstrate that he undertook several modes of reading.

Another clue that can give evidence about reading practice is the presence of bookmarks. Although these are infrequent, they can strongly indicate a reader's attention to a book. Already noted above in Tyrrell's *The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil,* bookmarks were sometimes used to delineate sections within a volume. These are also to be found in several of the library's volumes of pamphlets or tracts, such as the volume at running number 1312, a volume of six seventeenth-century pamphlets, in which slips are

---

[65] Peter Heylyn, *Aërius Redivivus: Or the History of the Presbyterians,* the second edition (London: [Printed by Robert Battersby] for Christopher Wilkinson..., and Thomas Archer..., and John Crosley in Oxford, 1672).
[66] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras: In Three Parts* (London: printed for D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. and J. Pemberton, R. Robinson, R. Ware, 1739), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0114477631/ECCO?sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=3fda72a3&pg=200> [accessed 3 May 2022], p. 189.
[67] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras* (London: printed for John Baker, at the Black-Boy in Pater-noster-Row, 1709-10).

inserted between each of the six works in the volume. Some of these slips are printed in black letter, suggesting they were originally part of an older volume or came from old printer's waste. The book is unprepossessing: inauspiciously covered in torn grey paper, tacked together with loose stitches and therefore not particularly easy to read. Its contents are on unrelated subjects (astrology, popery, parliament, sermons, and murder), and two of them are second parts of works separated from their beginnings. Yet despite its humble appearance, the bookmarks indicate that the volume's sections were marked for easy future reference. Its role as a work for selective consultation rather than cover-to-cover reading is supported also by its feeble physical state. These unexpected bookmarks in such an unassuming volume raise the possibility that all of the library's volumes of pamphlets originally had their sections marked with such slips, helping the reader to easily find each new work. This is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility, nor is it impossible that many bookmarks have been removed in the library's recent past: the National Trust must rely on the services of volunteers to periodically clean and move the books, and it is not unlikely that a well-meaning cleaning crew systematically removed the tatty slips from most of the volumes during the twentieth century. Other bookmarks suggest where a reader may have lost interest in a text. Unlike in *The General History of England*, the three bookmarks in Robert Plot's *The Natural History of Staffordshire* are inserted in the middle of sections with seeming randomness.[68] While these may be marking specific passages of interest, it seems equally likely that slips like these mark the point at which a book was abandoned.

One of the few pieces of hard evidence relating to Ellys's reading practices is a letter he sent to Maurice Johnson, the founder of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, in the same year. Johnson had written to Ellys in that same year about an antiquity related to King Æthelred that Johnson had in his possession. Ellys's reply illustrates the depth of his research on this subject (which is beyond his own field of study):

[68] Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Stafford-Shire* (Oxford: Printed at the theater, 1686). All three bookmarks have partially torn-off writing, but only one retains any legible words: 'a pinch of' and '3 livers'. Presumably, this scrap of paper must have had a recipe or a cook's notes on it. This raises the question of who would be reading this book with a recipe to hand; could it have been read in the kitchen? While this is possible, it perhaps seems more likely that the reader was simply turning to an available piece of scrap paper to be reused as a bookmark. This suggests a process of using and recycling paper in the house, with scraps being reappropriated for other purposes.

I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter, and for the full and learned account you were pleased to take the trouble of sending me, of Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and of the Inscription on Glass relating to him, which is now in your possession, and which I think cannot well be read otherwise than you have done. I can add but little to so accurate a Dissertation; yet give me leave to say, that this Ethelred, notwithstanding all his great qualities, seems to have had a disposition to cruelty, which he exercised especially against Lothar King of Kent, wasting his Country without respect to Churches or Religious Houses, particularly Rochester, which he plunder'd, and drove its Bishop, Putta, to such extremities, as that he was forced to teach Musick and the Liberal Arts in Mercia, in order to get a livelihood, as Florentius Wigorniensis, & others, relate. It would seem that a sense of his cruelty, and his repentance for it, engaged him to found the Monastery of Bardney, and to turn Monk, as a sort of atonement for his crimes, He was 12. years Abbot of that Monastery, and died in 716. The same Flor. Wigorn. confirms what you have said of this Ethelred from other Authors; for, ad Ann. 704. he says, "Aethelredus Merciorum Rex trigesimo anno regni sui Monachus factus, Kenredo suo fratrueli regnum dedit." And ad Ann. 716. "Aethelredus quondam Rex Merciorum, post autem Abbas Bardoniensis Caenobij, quod ipse construxit, e seculo migravit: & aeternae felicitates, serenitatis, ac lucis gaudia intravit. Magnae vir sanctitatis & religionis." The same Author ad ann. 675. says, that Wulfer, 2d Brother of Ethelred, was the first Christian King of the Mercians; tho' others, as Robert of Swapham, say that Penda his father, or Peada his eldest Brother was their first Christian King.

I have not Jul. Cas. Bulengerus de Pictura plastica, tho' I have several other Volumes of his works. I shall only add, that Filippo Buonaroti in his Book entituled Osservarioni sopra alcuni frammenti di Vasi antichi di Vetro ornate di figure &c printed at Florence in 1716. in a little folio, gives a great many examples of very ancient painting upon Glass, with Inscriptions, some whereof are in gold Letters, particularly in his Tab. 30. see also Tab. 28. 29. 31.

I hope You'll forgive my long delay in answering yours, being very unfit for any thing; yet am no less,'
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant
R.Ellys
Dr Mitchell desires your acceptance of his most humble service.
London
March 15th
1738/9.[69]

[69] Sir Richard Ellys, 'Letter to Maurice Johnson, London, 15 March, 1738/9', Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, SGS/ELLYS/1.

The letter, while signed by Ellys himself, is written in Mitchell's hand. Mitchell's letters to his friend Charles Mackie in Edinburgh, written during this period, make it clear that Ellys was not well by this time and did not often leave the house. And yet the letter is evidence of Ellys's continuing engagement with his books, consulting them and participating in intellectual give-and-take with his contemporaries. He (or possibly Mitchell) has clearly undertaken to research the topic at hand, adding further details of the life of Æthelred from Florence of Worcester (presumably *Chronicon Ex Chronicis*, which was published in London in 1592).[70] He has also consulted Filippo Buonarroti's 1716 *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro ornati di fugure trovati ne' cimiteri di Roma*, which is still to be found in his library.[71]

This was not the first time Ellys's library was consulted in the service of Maurice Johnson. A 1734 letter from Mitchell to Johnson is clearly the answer to Johnson's query about a gem Johnson bought for his wife in Italy. Mitchell writes that he 'showed the Impression to Sir Richard Ellys and others, who all agree that the Letters of the Legend are the same you read, but cannot determine the meaning or explication of them. I have looked over all the Museum Florentinum, and several other Books of Gemms in Sir Richard's Library, but cannot find any one like yours'. He goes on to describe the several works he has consulted in trying to decipher the Greek inscription (΄ΕΡΩΣ): including Montfaucon, Spanheim, and Smith. Below his signature, in a postscript, Mitchell adds that he and Ellys had once come across something like the ΄ΕΡΩΣ inscription. 'But here lies the present misfortune, that tho' we both saw the book, and compared the figure with the seal, yet it being now above a year since that time, we [hole – presumably reads 'can not'] recollect the Author's name nor the title of the Book, nor either [hole – presumably something about the position in the catalogue] talogue, nor any other way, make it out as yet'.[72] Evidently, Ellys and Mitchell were both involved in supporting Johnson in his own scholarly pursuits, undertaking to consult books on his behalf and supply him with requested information. External scholars, as well as Ellys and Mitchell

[70] Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon Ex Chronicis Ab Initio Mundi Vsque Ad Annum Domini 1118* (London: Excudebat Thomas Dausonus, pro Ricardo Watkins, 1592).
[71] Filippo Buonarruoti, *Osservazioni Sopra Alcuni Frammenti Di Vasi Antichi Di Vetro Ornati Di Figure Trovati Ne' Cimiteri Di Roma* (Florence: Nella stamperia di S.A.R. Per Jacopo Guiducci, e Santi Franchi, 1716).
[72] John Mitchell, 'Letter to Maurice Johnson, London, 25 April, 1734', Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, SGS/MITCHELL/1.

themselves, therefore clearly recognized the uniqueness and importance of this library as a source for answering specific questions and were able to benefit from consulting its contents.

There is one subject on which the library has an entire collection that seems to have been read particularly as reference books, occasionally consulted but likely not read through thoroughly: these are the significant number of instructional and reference texts in the field of book collecting and library management. Accompanying the increasing number of books published, this period saw the production of numerous guides to reading, selecting, and owning books, including published lists of rare and significant texts, published catalogues of private and institutional collections, and sale and auction catalogues.[73] Mandelbrote and Lewis comment on Ellys's books in this area, arguing that he was 'remarkably well equipped to make informed choices, [as he] own[ed] an impressive selection of reference books in every category'. These books, they argue, 'enabled him to identify what to buy and to appreciate and understand what he had bought';[74] the successful development and management of the library is evidence that these books were consulted regularly. While the Acquisition chapter touched on bibliographical reference works and catalogues of other libraries as a topic of interest to Ellys, the present discussion will focus on the particulars of the intellectual and social use of these works as an example of a consulting mode of reading. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, it is usually very difficult to determine how much of this consulting was undertaken by Ellys and how much was the work of Mitchell. It seems reasonable to assume that both took part to some extent, but this is not certain. As Mandelbrote and Lewis note, 'to assemble such a collection required specialist knowledge and particular skills which themselves had to be learned, with the help of a broad range of bibliographical reference books'.[75] It is clear that these reference books were used by one or both to gain a sort of cultural competence. Cultural competence, as Bourdieu argues, is the key to the 'code' necessary to produce meaning and interest from a work of art.[76] While books are not works of pure art, and have a utility beyond the aesthetic, the notion of cultural competence is undeniably relevant here and it is clear that it was developed through the specific use of this particular kind of books. The metaphor of an apprentice learning from a master is perhaps apt, although should not be taken to suggest that Ellys was a callow and

[73] Raven, 'From Promotion to Proscription', p. 191.
[74] pp. 20-21.
[75] p. 4.
[76] *Distinction*, p. 2.

uninformed neophyte. Rather, the aim here is to demonstrate how catalogues were consulted as reference works to develop his and Mitchell's professional expertise and discernment, and how they functioned to confer and reinforce the pair's cultural competence in the field of book collecting and book history.

Occasionally, a book will bear some signs that it was used as a reference work. The Blickling copy of the well-known *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum*, compiled by Johann Heinrich Vogt and published in Hamburg in 1738, contains some marginal annotations.[77] These are in the form of lightly-pencilled lower case letters – h, x, v, q, xx, and o – and appear only in the first half of the book. It is very difficult to tell if these are in Mitchell's hand, Ellys's, or someone else's altogether. It seems rather unlikely that these annotations come from a previous owner, as the book was published less than four years before Ellys's death and well into his period of decline – it seems improbable that another owner bought, annotated, tired of and sold this book in that short period and that Ellys had the necessary energy to purchase it just before his death. The pencilled letters in the volume do not seem to refer specifically to individual items, and sometimes a single entry will have several letters next to it. The letters occur very frequently until they stop abruptly halfway through. The entries are arranged by author's surname and despite Ellys's documented interest in the Estienne press, no manuscript letters appear next to the Stephanus section (as it appears well into the second half of the volume). The letters do not mark out items already in Ellys's library; if they were intended to indicate items of interest for potential acquisition, any subsequent attempt to acquire them failed. Despite the opacity of this system of annotations, it is nevertheless clear that the Vogt work was consulted and (at least in part) carefully examined. Vogt's is virtually the only reference work of this type to be annotated, but it is certainly not the only one used. Andrew Maunsell's *The First part of the catalogue of English printed books*, published in London in 1595, is the first reference work produced for the English book trade and was certainly consulted in Ellys's library. His copy, as noted in the Acquisition chapter, bears Maittaire's inscription 'This Author is very exact, and was at immense pains'. While the lack of annotation in Maunsell's text obscures precisely how it may have been read, Maittaire's note indicates that it was valued and respected as a reliable and accurate source of information.

[77] Johann Vogt, *Iohannis Vogt pastoris eccl. cathed. Brem. Catalogvs historico-criticvs librorvm rariorvm*, ed. nova (Hamburg: sumptibus Christiani Heroldi, 1738).

Raven notes the common advice of the period to own a copy of a sale catalogue of a great library (such as Edward Harley's).[78] Although the Harley catalogue itself was published shortly after Ellys's death, its prologue by Thomas Osborne gives a relevant overview of the opinion of the time as to the purpose of catalogues of private libraries and their use to scholars and collectors:

> But the Collectors of Libraries cannot be numerous, and, therefore, Catalogues could not very properly be recommended to the Public, if they had not a more general and frequent Use, an Use which every Student has experienced, or neglected to his Loss. By the Means of Catalogues only can it be known, what has been written on every Part of Learning, and the Hazard avoided of encountering Difficulties which have already been cleared, discussing Questions which have already been decided and digging in Mines of Literature which former Ages have exhausted.[79]

According to Osborne, a catalogue is of value as a listing or bibliography of previous study. Osborne faced criticism over charging for this catalogue, which was uncommon, but in the prologue to volume three he refuted this criticism, arguing that the catalogue had great utility beyond the end of the sale because it continued to function as a significant listing of all available knowledge. (He also noted that the Harley catalogue was more work than any other to produce.)

However, catalogues that aren't linked to a sale or auction but are instead lists of the contents of institutional or private libraries can also be used in this consultatory way. Instead of material to browse, these function as models or instruction manuals, allowing a collector to develop his own technique and skills by observing the practices of masters. For instance, the *Report from the committee appointed to view the Cottonian library*, of which Ellys had a copy, gives an overview of the famous library of Sir Robert Cotton and describes the damage of the fire that had ravaged it a year before the report's publication in 1732.[80] The report also contains a list of many of the significant works of the library, some of which were damaged

[78] 'From Promotion to Proscription', p. 192.
[79] Samuel Johnson and William Oldys, *Catalogus bibliothecæ Harleianæ : in locos communes distributus cum indice auctorum* (London: Apud Thomas Osborne, [1743]), prologue to volume one, p. 3.
[80] *A Report from the Committee Appointed to View the Cottonian Library* (London: Printed for R. Williamson near Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and W. Bowyer in White-Friars, 1732).

or destroyed and some of which survived. Ellys's interest in the Cotton library could not be that of a prospective buyer, browsing a list of curated books and selecting which ones to purchase, because the Cotton collection is, of course, made up of manuscripts. By definition unique, these artefacts could not form the model for imitation. The value of the *Report* and its list of items must lie in observation, not replication. Similar is the *Catalogue of the manuscripts of the King's library: an appendix to the catalogue of the Cottonian library; together with an account of books burnt or damaged by a late fire,* compiled by David Casley, Deputy Librarian of the collection, and published in 1734.[81] Again, this list of manuscripts cannot be used as a simple shopping list. These two works about the Cotton and Royal collections must rather have functioned as tools of personal edification and learning.

In addition to catalogues of individuals' libraries, Ellys also owned several catalogues of institutional collections. Among these is David Hoeschel's 1595 *Catalogus Graecorum codicum qui sunt in Bibliotheca Reip. Augustanae Vindelicae*, a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the city of Augsburg.[82] This is one of the first printed catalogues of any institutional library, and is a very rare treasure in an eighteenth-century private collection. Certainly this underscores Ellys's seriousness as a scholar of books and libraries, as Mandelbrote and Lewis argue,[83] and would have engendered a degree of cultural competence. Another such institutional catalogue is the *Catalogus Codicum MSSCtorum Bibliothecae Paulinae in Academia Lipsiensi*, published in 1686 and listing the manuscripts of the University of Leipzig.[84] As with the Cotton and Royal catalogues, this manuscript list must have been a tool of reference and consultation rather than browsing. Consulting the contents of these illustrious and well-curated libraries would have provided Ellys and Mitchell with an awareness of what knowledge had already been produced (which Osborne emphasizes as an important function of a catalogue), a recognition of the significance of these listed works, and an appreciation of the history of book collecting and library building. Reading in this consulting mode allowed Ellys and Mitchell to continue to develop the library in the desired direction.

---

[81] David Casley, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library* (London: printed for the author…, 1734).
[82] David Hoeschel, *Catalogus Graecorum Codicum Qui Sunt in Bibliotheca Reip. Augustanae Vindelicae, Quadruplo Quam Antea Auctior.* (Augsburg: ad insigne pinus, 1595).
[83] p. 8.
[84] *Catalogus Codicum MSSCtorum Bibliothecae Paulinae in Academia Lipsiensi* (Leipzig: Sumtibus Joh. Frid. Gleditsch, 1686).

However, Ellys was certainly not the only one to read the books in his library. Many (even the majority) of his books have signs of reading or marks of ownership from other readers. While the vast majority of these are likely to have pre-dated Ellys's acquisition, it is known that other scholars made use of the collection and two particularly prevalent hands can be identified in the books. The first of these is Michael Maittaire. Maittaire's possible role as advisor to Ellys in his acquisition decisions has already been explored, but there is also evidence that Maittaire made use of his friend's books for his own scholarship. For instance, the 1615 edition of Lucian of Samosata's *Opera omnia quae extant* has a sheet of paper inserted between pages 1060-61, containing manuscript notes (in Greek) on Lucian's *De Syria dea*; on the reverse of the sheet, Ellys has written 'Maittaire', suggesting that the notes are Maittaire's.[85] Maittaire also consulted the Saint Epiphanius's *Hesychii, et Chrysippi*, published in Paris in 1565, and wrote his name (in Greek letters) on the fly leaf as well as adding some marginal notes to the prologue.[86] The Blickling copy of Maittaire's own 1738 work *Graecae Linguae Dialecti* has two sheets inserted at the beginning, with small holes present where they were originally pinned to the fly leaf.[87] The writing thanks the 'doctissimo' Ellys for allowing Maittaire access to his library in the production of this work.

The other hand to appear regularly in the library cannot, unfortunately, be attributed to a specific person. I have identified this simply as the 'scrawly hand' because of its casual, hurried, untidy appearance; it is found in the books far more frequently than any other hand except Mitchell's. It appears in books from numerous former owners and is far too frequent to be a mere coincidence; the writer must have been making use of the books once they were already in Ellys's possession. The vast majority of these scrawly inscriptions appear on fly leaves. In Paulo Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis*, the scrawly writer has even had to squeeze his note around the sixteenth century notes already on the fly leaf.[88] These scrawly

[85] *Philosophou ta szomena [Philosophi Opera omnia quae extant]* (Paris: Apud Iulianum Bertault, in monte D. Hilarij, ad insigne Henrici Magni, 1615); *De dea Syria libellus* (Milan: Vincentius Medda exprimebat, 1539).
[86] Saint Epiphanius, *Hesychii, et Chrysippi, presbyterorum Hierosolymitanoru[m] Sermones aliquot, De laudibus beatissimae Virginis Mariae deiparae...* (Paris: Apud viduam Guil. Morelij, 1565).
[87] Michael Maittaire, *Græcæ linguæ dialecti: in scholæ regiæ Westmonasteriensis usum* (The Hague: apud Joannem Neaulme..., 1738).
[88] Paulo Giovio, *Nouocomensis episcopi Nucerini, Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus* (Paris: ex officina typographica Michaelis Vascosani, Via Iacobæa ad insigne Fontis, 1553).

fly leaf notes are all short, typically only providing a reference to another work. Sir Jonas Moore's *History or Narrative of the Great Level of the Fenns, called Bedford Level*, for instance, has the note 'Nicholson Engl Hist. Library p. 26'. Elsewhere in the Blickling collection is the 'Nicholson' book: *The English, Scotch and Irish historical libraries : Giving a short view and character of most of our historians, either in print or manuscript* by William Nicolson with an added letter by the Reverend White Kennett in defense of historical libraries, published in London in 1736.[89] The Nicolson volume has no corresponding note in the scrawly hand, either on the fly leaf or on page 26; the contents of page 26 describe the counties of Warwickshire, Westmorland, Wiltshire, and Worcestershire and seem unrelated to the fens or Bedford Level.

Ferdinand Verbiest's *Voyages de l'Empereur de Chine dans le Tartarie*, Alexandre Touissant Limojon de Saint Didier's *Histoire des Negotiations des Nimegues*, Thomas of Elmham's *Vita de Gesta Henriei Quinti Anglorum Regia*, and Ugo Falcando's *Historia de rebus gestis in Siciliae regno* all have notes that refer to the *Journal des Scavans*, giving an issue number and a page number.[90] Again, no corresponding marks can be found in the *Journal* and the contents seem unrelated. Hemingus's *Chartularum Ecclesiae Wigorniensis* volume one has the scrawly hand's note: 'Notes by Mr Graves on this Cartulary – Appendix N.7.622', pointing to the location of Richard Graves's commentary. Volume two of the work has a note referring to Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, volume 2, Appendix 5.[91] As usual, the referenced works have no signs of the scrawly hand or any other marks of reading. Typically

---

[89] Jonas Moore, *The History or Narrative of the Great Level of the Fenns, Called Bedford Level: With a Large Map of the Said Level* (London: printed for Moses Pitt, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1685); William Nicolson and White Kennett, *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries… To Which Is Added, a Letter to the Reverend White Kennett, D. D. in Defence of the English Historical Library, &c.*, the third edition, corrected and augmented (London: Printed for G. Strahan, at the Golden Ball in Cornhill…, 1736).

[90] Ferdinand Verbiest, *Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la tartarie: Aausquels on a joint une nouvelle découverte au Mexique* (Paris: chez Etienne Michallet, 1695); Alexandre Touissant Limojon de Saint-Didier, *Histoire des négotiations de Nimegue* (Paris [i.e. Amsterdam]: Chez Claude Barbin, 1680); Thomas of Elmham?, *Vita & gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis: e codicibus MSS. vetustis descripsit, & primus luci publicæ dedit Tho. Hearnius* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1728); Ugo Falcando, *Historia de rebus gestis in Siciliæ regno* (Paris: Apud M. Dupuys, 1550); *Journal Des Scavans* (Amsterdam: chez Pierre Le Grand, 1665-1710).

[91] Hemingus, *Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis: E Codice MS. Penes Richardum Graves, de Mickelton in Agro Gloucestriensi, Armigerum, Descripsit Ediditque Tho. Hearnius...*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1723); Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle* (Oxford: printed at the Theater, 1724).

the scrawly inscriptions appear on the front fly leaf of a volume, but several books feature annotations throughout the text. The *Giornale de Letterati d'Italia*, for instance, has marginalia in this hand found throughout all twenty-six volumes.[92] Charles Blount's *Miscellaneous Works* similarly has marginal annotations and underlining found in the preface and main text of 'The Oracles of Reason', the first work in the book.[93]

One of the few inscriptions providing any significant detail, beyond a simple title and page number of another work, is found in the *Bibliothecae Cordesianae Catalogus*, the catalogue of the private library of the Flemish nobleman Jean Charles de Cordes (1580-1641).[94] The scrawly note on the front fly leaf reads: 'Le Cardinal Mazarin avoit achete la bibliotheque de Mr des Cordes. La meme fut vendir [sic] a l'encan pendant la guerre de Paros. Depuis elle fut achetée et mise avec les autres livres du Cardinal en college Mazarin. Menagiana vol.1.33'. Menagiana refers to Gilles Ménage's *Ménagiana ou les bons mots* edited by Bernard de la Monnoye and published in Paris in 1729, one volume of which is found in the Blickling library (as always, with no corresponding scrawly hand reference to the *Bibliothecae Cordesianae Catalogus*).[95] Below the note about Mazarin and Des Cordes is another, reading 'Biblioteq choisie de Colomier p. 126'.[96] Some of the scrawly hand's notes refer not to other works but to sections within the volume at hand or passages in the text. Many of the eighteen volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in the library feature a scrawly inscription at the beginning, identifying where the second issue begins (each bound volume consisting of two issues).[97] Similar is Gregorio Leti's *La vie de Don Pedro Giron, Duc d'Ossone*, in which the scrawly note on the fly leaves of all three volumes refer to subjects covered in the text and give page numbers.[98]

---

[92] *Giornale de letterati d'Italia* (Venice: Appresso Gio. Gabbriello Ertz, 1710-23).
[93] Charles Blount, *The Miscellaneous Works* ([London]: s.n., 1695).
[94] Naudé, *Bibliothecæ Cordesianæ Catalogus*.
[95] Gilles Ménage, *Ménagiana, ou, kes bons mots, et remarques critiques, historiques, morales & d'érudition de Monsieur Menage*, ed. by Bernard de la Monnoye, Nouv. ed. (Paris: Chez la veuve Delaulne, 1729).
[96] *La Bibliotheque Choisie de M. Colomiés*, Nouvelle Edition (Paris: Chez Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, rue S. Jacques, vis-a-vis S. Yves, a S. Thomas d'Aquin, 1731).
[97] Royal Society (Great Britain), *Philosophical Transactions, Giving Some Account of the Present Undertakings, Studies, and Labours of the Ingenious, in Many Considerable Parts of the World* (London: printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, printers to the Royal Society, 1665-), I–XXXVI.
[98] Gregorio Leti, *La Vie de Don Pedro Giron, Duc D'Ossone* (Amsterdam: Chez Georges Gallet, 1700).

The scrawly hand's notes were sometimes written before Mitchell's M cataloguing code, requiring that Mitchell deviate from his typical pattern of writing the M in the top left corner of the recto of the first fly leaf. Hemingus's *Chartularum Ecclesiae Wigorniensis* and John Malalas's *Historia Chronica* both have the M code below the scrawly notes.[99] In the volume of five pamphlets relating to New England (entered together in the catalogue under 'Strength Out of Weakness') Mitchell's M and short title 'all Strength' are squeezed into the corner above the scrawly hand which lists the details of the volume's tracts. In Leti's *La Vie de Don Pedro Giron* Mitchell had to put his M on the verso of the fly leaf rather than the recto because of a lack of space; in Verbiest's *Voyages de l'Empereur de Chine dans la Tartarie* he has likewise placed his code on the recto of the second fly leaf because of a lack of space on the first fly leaf.

These notes in the scrawly hand, although they cannot be reliably attributed to an identified person, can nevertheless tell us about how this fellow reader made use of Ellys's books, and can suggest clues about the nature of his relationship with Ellys. The large number of books marked by the scrawly writer suggest a large and ongoing research project. This was not the result of a single day's work, seeking to consult a specific thing, but rather an extended use of the entire library. It is possible to discern a possible timeline for at least some of these scrawly inscriptions: some were before Mitchell's M codes and possibly even before his arrival in the mid-1730s, but others were added after the publication of the Ménage's *Ménagiana* in 1729 and Nicolson's *English, Scotch and Irish historical libraries* in 1736. (The reference to Nicolson's work published comparatively late in Ellys's life further supports the contention that the scrawly notes do not pre-date Ellys's acquisition of the books, as his declining health in the final years of his life prevented him from buying too many more books after this point.) It is possible that all the notes were made on one occasion during that interval, but it is equally possible that the scrawly writer was a regular visitor to Ellys's library and made notes on multiple occasions over a longer period of many years. The apparent uniformity of the ink and pen (a fairly thick nib with a watery brown ink) perhaps make the first slightly more likely, suggesting all the inscriptions were added on the same occasion.

[99] John Malalas, *Chronikē historia [historia chronica]* (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1691).

The scrawly handed reader shows signs of undertaking a consulting type of reading, rather than thoroughly going through each book; the lack of notes throughout the texts and the probable timescale further support this supposition. Leaving notes in so many books also suggests a possible intention to return to them later. The contents lists and marking the beginnings of individual issues or tracts in a volume are clearly intended to facilitate the navigation of these books. The references to specific page numbers in other books demonstrates a close attention to detail; the writer was not merely browsing for books on a desired topic but was seeking specific pieces of information, taking an intertextual approach to his research. It may be that the scrawly writer left these notes to himself for his own benefit on consulting them a second time. But the fact that he wrote these references and navigation notes in the books themselves, rather than in his own notebook, might even suggest an intention to facilitate future reading and research by others. It is possible, although purely speculative, that he may even have been another librarian employed before Mitchell's arrival in 1730.

The writer must have felt he had permission to write in Ellys's books. Whether this was given explicitly or not, it is noticeable because Ellys virtually never wrote in the books himself. It seems likely that the scrawly writer was a very close friend, or possibly a relative or other member of the household. Either way, the presence of Maittaire's and the scrawly hand's annotations suggest a measure of respect given to them and their work by the books' owner. (Although equally, perhaps they were simply the only ones who ever wished or chose to mark the books in his library.) It is nonetheless crucial to remember that, just because other hands do not appear in the books, does not mean they did not make use of them. There are several people whom one might expect to have borrowed or read some of Ellys's books, such as his private chaplain Andrew Gifford, the minister of his congregation Edmund Calamy, his friend William Stukeley and his associates at the Spalding Gentlemen's Society such as Maurice Johnson. All of these men knew Ellys personally and were familiar with his impressive library. They may well have consulted its volumes without leaving any trace.

Use of the library by others is obvious in the books dedicated to Ellys and the public acknowledgements of his support. The library served a social function in Ellys's relationships with other readers in addition to being an intellectual resource. Ray describes the close relationship between scholar and collector as desirable and mutually beneficial. The collector

provides the requisite documents and materials for academic research, and the scholar 'provides the collector with the welcome assurance that the pursuit to which he has devoted so much effort is indeed worthwhile'.[100] In addition, Ellys was able to enjoy the status afforded by his reputation as a benefactor. Maurice Johnson, in his 1738 letter to his brother John, describes Ellys's library and how 'the learned Owner not only uses & understands his Treasures but freely allows the full use of them even to his Friends [sic] own houses of such as they desire, & therefore deserves them well'.[101] According to Johnson it is Ellys's generous willingness to share his books with his friends that makes him a worthy owner.

It seems clear that Ellys's books did not function only as lavish furnishings, but were read and used as tools of consultation and information extraction. Ellys and others demonstrate multiple behaviours in their reading of the books, including thorough, cover-to-cover reading, occasional consultation, and the perusal of reference works. Although much of the evidence of these activities comes in the form of indirect and seemingly minor clues, in the aggregate it nevertheless constitutes a convincing case. In the absence of substantial external source material, the approach followed here represents a broadening of our understanding of how to write the social history of a library.

Transactions and Social Capital

This section will explore how the library's books were used to cultivate and exhibit social capital, first by examining transactions with others in Ellys's private social circle and then by exploring more public-oriented behaviours that served to solidify his reputation and legacy. Many of Ellys's friends and associates benefited from the use of his library. This type of support and openness with certain scholars, however, should not be interpreted as Ellys viewing his library as a public resource open to all. Purcell identifies Ellys's library as one 'which [was] in some sense a public collection for the use of scholars'. But he cautions that 'it is certainly taking things too far to suggest that all private libraries were open to outsiders'.[102] Ellys's collection was not 'public' in the modern sense that it was open to all;

[100] 'The Private Collector', p. 67.
[101] Johnson, 'Part of a Letter from Maurice Johnson to John Johnson'.
[102] 'The Country House Library Reassess'd', p. 161.

instead it was under private control and was available to certain of the owner's private associates. As Swann notes, 'collections of objects…could be used in the early modern period to create collections of people'.[103] It is clear that Ellys stood to gain social capital through the strategic deployment of his intellectual resources among specific acquaintances. Transactions including the giving, donating, and lending of books must have codified Ellys's social relationships and position in his personal network. While the word 'transaction' may seem overly impersonal and grandiose, it has the benefit of recognizing the benefit to the giver as well as the receiver. Ellys did not use his books as instruments of selfless benevolence; he stood to gain from sending books from his collection to the shelves of others. The records of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society provide evidence of Ellys using books as tools to advance his social capital, in a formalized, codified manner. The transaction involved Ellys's donation to the Society of *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, published in Amsterdam from 1723-43 and featuring the engravings of Bernard Picard; all members of the Society were expected to make a donation of one or more books to contribute to the Society's library.[104] The minute-book records the donation thus:

> 5 July 1733. The Secr brought in Sir Rich Ellys's Donation to the library of this Soc as a Regular & most beneficent Member therof Bernd Picard Ceremonies & Costumes Religieuses de tous le Peuple de Monde Representes par des Figures en Taille douce. 4 Vols in Folio finely bound, wth sch Noble & generous Benefaction the Soc. expressd themselves highly pleasd & obliged.[105]

This renowned work was published in nine folio volumes by Jean Frederic Bernard, a French language bookseller in Amsterdam. The spectacular and numerous illustrations are by Bernard Picard, and the work was usually referred to by his name, 'Picart'. The engravings illustrate religious and ceremonial activities of all the world's religions, including Jews, Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Protestants, Anglicans, Quakers, Muslims, and the 'idolatrous' peoples of Africa, Asia, and America. Ellys had another copy of this book in his own library. It is possible that he had somehow acquired a duplicate which he later got rid of by unloading it onto the Society. But more likely is that he bought this second copy on purpose to give to

---

[103] p. 198.
[104] *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde: representées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard* (Amsterdam: Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, 1723-43).
[105] Dorothy M. Owen, *The Minute-Books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1712-1755* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 21.

the Society as he was acquainted with the book's significance himself. Obviously this was an important transaction requiring consideration; it mattered to him what he gave to the Society. This donation to the Society was substantial, as the Picard volumes were expensive and desirable. As the famous work of a famous engraver, the book would have enhanced the consequence of the Society's library. Indeed, a library of any quality would expect to have these volumes among its collection. Ellys's gift, therefore, allowed him the honour of bestowing reputation, eminence, and weight to the Society's library. This in turn reflected on him as a man of these characteristics, along with highlighting his generosity, taste, and financial resources.

On the same occasion, Ellys also donated to the Society 'an Impression of a large oval Seale'. The minute-book describes in detail the seal's image of a prelate and a layman, each accompanied by their coat of arms, and reproduces the inscription around the bottom and on the back of the seal. It goes on to note that 'This fine Seale is of Brass & was found in Gloustershire [sic]& is in the possession of Roger Gale Esq a worthy Member of this Soc'.[106] Gale (1672-1744) was the brother-in-law of William Stukeley and was a scholar and antiquary. Gale shared with Ellys an interest in numismatics, and amassed a large collection of coins and medals which he bequeathed to Cambridge University. Much like Ellys, Gale published little in his lifetime but was a significant figure among antiquaries of the period. Rather than his published work, it is 'his correspondence [which] places him firmly in the ranks of the new generation of antiquaries, who turned their attention from texts to topography and antiquities in the field'.[107] Gale and Ellys evidently shared a connection beyond their membership in the Society, both having an interest in antique coins and medals, and both being known among their circle as men of learning. The two appear to have had a personal connection, with Ellys owning (perhaps even producing) an impression of Gale's brass seal.

While Ellys may have regularly made gifts of books to his friends and associates, there is only conclusive evidence of two recipients. The first of these is Mary Lloyd (née Wheate): the niece of Ellys's second wife, Sarah, who was named in Sarah's will as her intended heir. Two items can be reliably connected to Mary. The first is a book currently at Blickling, the

[106] ibid., p. 21.
[107] Mary Clapinson, 'Gale, Roger (1672–1744), Antiquary', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10294>.

Voyage et avantures de François Leguat, published in London in 1708, which has the inscription 'Mary Wheate her book given her by sir Richard Ellys Bart. The 13 of september 1735' on the fly leaf next to the M cataloguing code.[108] It is peculiar that this book, if it were truly bestowed as a gift as is suggested by the word 'given', should have ended up back in the Blickling collection. It is possible that it was in fact only given on loan, or perhaps even that a later owner of the Blickling library re-acquired it for the house. The second work owned by Mary is the manuscript of *Discours de la Foy*, copied by Esther Inglish in 1591. The small manuscript was owned first by Ellys and then by Mary, who later gave it to Andrew Gifford, Ellys's chaplain. When Gifford died in 1784 this manuscript, along with the rest of his books, went to Bristol Baptist College; it was sold at Sotheby's in 1961 and was bought by the Huntington Library where it can still be found as MS HM 26068.[109]

More straightforward is the list in the Norfolk county archives, entitled 'Catalogue of Pamphletts given by Sr R Ellys to Sr J Gouson From Jn Mitchell'.[110] The archive catalogue spells this as Gouson; Sir John Gouson is mentioned in a letter from Horace Walpole to John Nichols on 31st October 1781, but that late date suggests he is not the man in question here. Instead it seems much more likely that this is Sir John Gonson (1676/7-1765), a magistrate of London. Gonson was a strong supporter of the Society for the Reformation of Manners, founded to combat disorderliness and sexual licentiousness in the city.[111] Gonson must have been acquainted with Sir Thomas De Veil, another similarly unpermissive and unpopular London magistrate who, as mentioned in chapter two, sent a manuscript copy of his *Observations on the practice of a Justice of the Peace* to Ellys a decade before its posthumous publication in 1747.[112]

---

[108] François Le Guat, *Voyage et Avantures* (London: chez David Mortier, Marchand Libraire, 1708).
[109] 'Item Record: Discours de La Foy, Copied by Esther Inglis', *Huntington Digital Library* <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll7/id/53260> [accessed 22 August 2022].
[110] 'Catalogue of Pamphlets given by Sir Richard Ellys (? 1688-1742) to Sir John Gouson', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/840.
[111] Heather Shore, 'Gonson, Sir John (1676/7–1765), Magistrate', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/96892>.
[112] Thomas De Veil, 'Observations on the Practice of a Justice of the Peace, Intended for the Use of Such Gentlemen as Design to Act for the County of Middlesex or Citty and Liberty of Westminster' (London?, 1737), Blickling Hall, Running number 6871.

The Gonson catalogue consisted originally of 325 numbered sheets, of which about forty are now missing. It is accompanied by a folded sheet giving a brief overview in Mitchell's hand of the listed pamphlets, organized by subject and size. Sadly the catalogue is undated but it is written in the tall elegant hand that appears in the slip catalogue. Several annotations in Mitchell's hand reading 'Sir J.G.' or 'to Sir J.G.' suggest that the catalogue was likely compiled earlier with the pamphlets not initially intended for Gonson; several seem to have been selected for him individually before the whole batch was given. It is not clear what purpose this catalogue would have served when originally compiled – the pamphlets are not on any particular topic or of any particular size. They mostly date from the late seventeenth century, although there are plenty from earlier or later periods (up to 1724). Inserted between pages 308-309 is a sheet of paper (different from the rest of the booklet, with a bigger watermark and more visible chain lines) with some further titles entered. This suggests that the catalogue was indeed modified when the pamphlets were presented to Gonson, with several sheets removed and this one added in order to accurately list the contents of this large-scale transfer. While it cannot be known exactly how this catalogue was produced and for what original purpose, it clearly represents a significant gift to Gonson. Gonson and Ellys shared their rigid adherence to an orthodox interpretation of Christian morality and behaviour, and this gift is evidence of Ellys's position in a circle of (rather harsh) officers of the law along with De Veil. Ellys's higher rank no doubt placed him in a position of status within this network, and this generous bestowal of the pamphlets very much underscores his position as benefactor. The transaction demonstrates that these pamphlets were of greater value to Ellys as social tools than intellectual ones; it was more worthwhile for him to give them to Gonson than to keep them for himself. The details of the case suggest also that the value of these pamphlets changed over the course of Ellys's ownership of them. From when the list was originally drawn up they must have formed a distinct group of pamphlets, listed separately from the rest. (Whatever the parameters of this category were, they are no longer discernible.) At some subsequent moment, however, the group of pamphlets was no longer of personal use to Ellys for his own consultation but became instead tools of relationship-building, for cultivating and maintaining social capital.

There is some (limited) evidence that Ellys aspired to the loftier purpose of benefiting others beyond himself and his personal associates. Although not public in the modern sense of being open to the masses, it is possible to view in the library some hints of its pro-social purpose, for the betterment and enrichment of mankind. Wright discusses this role of collectors as

public benefactors, giving examples of Richard de Bury, Thomas Bodley, Matthew Parker, George Thomason, Thomas Rawlinson and Horace Walpole. All these men, Wright argues, derived personal pleasure from their collecting activities but found further fulfilment in making their books available for the use of other scholars.[113] Ellys's contemporary Sir Hans Sloane wrote with pride of his collections being open to the public – by which he meant the learned and curious like himself. Although his manuscripts seem to have been little used during his lifetime, he nonetheless provided this public access as a rationale for his large collection.[114] Gabriel Wilson, writing to Ellys in 1728, appealed to what he saw as Ellys's similar desire to provide some sort of public benefit. As noted above, Wilson wrote to request financial support on behalf of the author Thomas Boston, who had written a work on the subject of accents in the Hebrew language and required funds to meet the high expenses of printing a book with such unusual printed characters. Wilson calls Ellys a 'Lover of Learning' and appeals to his 'Sense of & Disposition towards Publick Usefulness to Mankind' and his religiosity, promising that Boston's book is a matter of concern to all Christians by 'clearing and Establishing the true sense of the old T[estament] text'.[115] This 'Publick Usefulness to Mankind' hints at an aim beyond meeting the needs of Ellys's own circle of scholarly friends. It suggests a sense of duty or service in the gathering, management and preservation of information for the benefit of wider society. There is also evidence of Ellys making his materials available for the benefit of scholars beyond his private network. The 1728 edition of Johann Kaspar Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, edited by Johann Jakob Breitinger and published by Wetstenios and Smith in Amsterdam, is partially based on an autograph copy of the work owned by Ellys.[116] The edition was dedicated to Ellys, and the dedication notes that he loaned the manuscript from his collection. The published volume is in a fine presentation binding of blue morocco with gold-tooled borders and cornerpieces. Clearly, Ellys was happy to contribute to the publication and significantly wider

---

[113] Louis B. Wright, 'The Book Collector as Public Benefactor', in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), pp. 3-23.

[114] Arnold Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts', in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*, ed. by Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor, and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 190-207 (p. 191).

[115] Gabriel Wilson, 'Letter to Sir Richard Ellys, 1728', Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire Archives, D/X/396/7.

[116] Johann Kaspar Suicer, 'Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Novum', 1672, Blickling Hall, no running number; *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus*, Editio secunda, priori emendatior, elegantior&longe auctior (Amsterdam: apud R. & J. Wetstenios & Gul. Smith, 1728).

dissemination of his manuscripts' contents and did not guard jealously what he had managed to acquire.

Ellys was certainly aware of the significance of leaving behind a library as a benefit for the public after his death. Indeed, Pearce describes collecting as a means of achieving immortality by leaving behind a reflection of one's passions and interests, and to serve the needs of future generations.[117] His possession of the *Report from the committee appointed to view the Cottonian library* from 1732 suggests that he was well aware of the importance of conserving and preserving textual and literary heritage. Although Ellys's own collection never accompanied Cotton's and his (Ellys's) contemporaries Harley and Sloane's manuscripts to the British Museum, it is possible that Ellys saw his own library as performing, to an extent, the same pro-social purpose as his predecessors. Certainly the purpose he envisaged for his library extended beyond himself and even beyond his own lifetime. In his copy of the auction catalogue of the library of Anthony Collins, for instance, he wrote 'The chief, not to say ye only, excellency of this Catalogue of Mr Collins's Library, is that several anonymous Tracts have here their true Authors assign'd to them, wch in a little time might probably have been forgot'.[118]

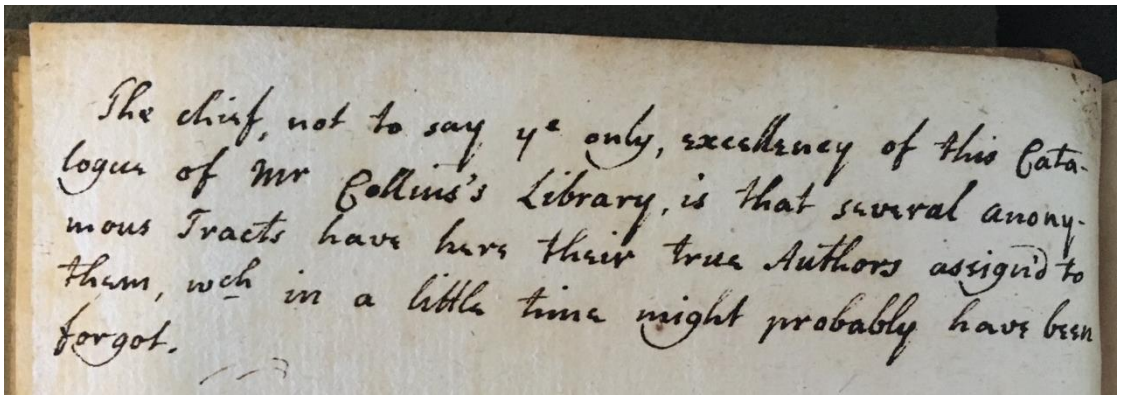
The chief, not to say ye only, excellency of this Catalogue of Mr Collins's Library, is that several anonymous Tracts have here their true Authors assign'd to them, wch in a little time might probably have been forgot.

Figure 6 Note in Ellys's hand in library catalogue of Anthony Collins

Ellys's evident disdain for Collins's library must spring from his profound disagreement with and distrust of Collins's free-thinking philosophy. Rather than an interest in the library's contents, it seems that Ellys's (sole) purpose in acquiring or retaining this catalogue is external; 'in a little time' suggests that the authors are currently known but he is concerned

[117] *On Collecting,* p. 248.
[118] Thomas Ballard, *Bibliotheca Antonij Collins* (London: s.n., 1731).

that they should be recorded for posterity, and sees a role for himself in ensuring this despite his suspicious disagreement with their ideas. Ellys is clearly concerned not with identifying the authors of these anonymous works for the benefit of his own reading, but rather that their names should be remembered by readers and scholars of the future. Here it is clear that this book was kept to meet the needs of posterity rather than to be consulted by Ellys himself. Preserving knowledge in a repository like this was a major motivation for a lot of collectors, including Sloane and, most famously, Matthew Parker.[119] Unfortunately this motive of preservation is not something that can be explored, except in the most superficial way, with respect to Ellys's library because there simply is not evidence.

These transactions between Ellys and his associates involve the exchange of objectified cultural capital (to use Bourdieu's term) for social capital. Whether following the prescribed behaviour of donating a set of volumes to the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, presenting a collection of pamphlets to an acquaintance, or employing his library in the support of scholars and posterity, it is undeniable that Ellys made use of books to situate himself in his social circle and beyond. It is possible to see this behaviour as strategic and self-advancing, but this is a rather cynical view. Equally, though, the behaviour should not be seen as purely altruistic. The gifted and donated books can be seen as manifestations of mutually-beneficial interpersonal relationships, while his wider support of scholarship may have been a method of securing his legacy. Politics, in addition to magnanimity, is an element of these transactions.

Use beyond Ellys's death

While its development was arrested when Ellys died, use of the library continued long after. This final section of the chapter will explore how the use of the collection shifted after Ellys's death, as it was transformed from a personal resource to a family asset. It will discuss a potential but unfulfilled fate for the books, and will outline the library's fate in the aftermath of its owner's death. This will be followed by comparisons with posthumous use of the

[119] James P. Carley, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Salvaging of the Spoils', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume 1: To 1640.*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 265–91 (p. 340).

libraries of Sir Hans Sloane, Sir Edward Harley, and Thomas and Richard Rawlinson, whose collections found ongoing use in institutional settings; this will be contrasted with Ellys's library, which stayed in the private realm of family but was still occasionally recognized as culturally and historically significant, receiving several notable visitors in the nineteenth century. The size and significance of Ellys's library were sufficient to merit some discussion and conjecture during his lifetime about its fate after his death. His lack of children raised questions: would it go to a more distant relative? Would it even remain in private hands, or would it instead go to a Dissenting library or some other institution? As early as 1732, Mitchell wrote to Charles Mackie that:

> I have been, & still am, very busy about books, Sir Richard Ellys having lately bought as many as came to some hundreds of pounds, which belonged to a Nobleman lately dead. The most part are very pompous, as being the best editions, large paper, and very neat; many of them are Prints, among which are several of the Cabinet du Roy. He has as yet no child to leave them to; and how he will dispose of them, I do not know.[120]

It is clear that even from the early years of his employment in the library Ellys's poor health and lack of an heir were a matter of concern for Mitchell, who seems to have disapproved of this absence of forethought.

Henry Newman (1670-1743), a New Englander of Puritan descent who spent time in London in the 1740s, leaves some indication of the position of Ellys's library at the time of his death. Newman came to know of the collection and hoped to persuade Ellys to do something beneficial with his books after his death. Newman was a graduate of Harvard and later became the librarian there. He then relocated to London and was Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge from 1708-1743.[121] Newman saw Ellys's collection as an overlooked treasure, saying that 'nobody scarce knows of [it]', although that is belied by the evidence of Ellys's social position and bookish reputation. In late 1740 Newman learned that Ellys 'has taken a lease of two or three houses, where he now lives, for 99 years, to give himself and his executors time to think of disposing of his library, which he is determined to leave to the publick in some manner or other.' Newman felt that Ellys's library was

[120] John Mitchell, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 17 May, 1732', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.33
[121] Leonard W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: An American in London, 1708-43* (London: Published for the Church Historical Society by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1956), p. ix.

significant enough to merit continuing use after its owner's death; it seems Ellys agreed, although sadly there is no other documentation to suggest his own plans as to how he might leave the library for the benefit of the public.[122]

Newman felt Ellys 'would be glad to give his library to any learned seminary among the Dissenters' and was likely 'to leave it to Dr Williams' Library for the Dissenting Clergy'. Others thought the library should go to Sion College but Newman disagreed as that would mean it would not be available for 'Dissenting clergy to study there as well as others…May God deliver us from such narrowness.' Newman instead wanted the library to go to Harvard, his alma mater, and hoped to impress upon Ellys 'the usefulness of dedicating his noble collection to our College where it will really be of use to posterity for the service of religion and learning in many respects beyond any such dedication in England, where private advantages of books are so common that publick libraries are little resorted to except now and then by an author'.[123] It may have been Newman who gave Ellys the catalogue of the Harvard library (inscribed 'For R. Ellis Esq^{r}'), in an effort to demonstrate the university's worthiness and need.[124] Also possibly connected to Newman is *Bibliothecae Americanae primordia : An attempt towards laying the foundation of an American library*, written by White Kennett and published in London in 1714, which emphasizes the same need for a religiously-motivated library in the New World.[125]

Newman was joined in his enthusiasm for this scheme by Benjamin Colman and Isaac Watts, both London Dissenters, with Watts agreeing that '[the library] will do more service in New England than in London.' Colman went so far as to write to Ellys himself, to advocate on behalf of his 'dear countryman and once fellow-student in the said College [i.e. Harvard]'. In 1741 Newman visited Ellys's London house but was told Ellys was too ill for visitors. Nevertheless, Newman was not downhearted and hoped that Ellys 'does not exclude us from hopes of his favour in some shape or other to our College when he has considered of it.'[126]

---

[122] ibid., p. 193.
[123] ibid., pp. 193-4.
[124] *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini*.
[125] White Kennett, *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia: An Attempt towards Laying the Foundation of an American Library* (London: Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713).
[126] Cowie, *Henry Newman*, pp. 193-4; Leonard W. Cowie, 'Newman, Henry (1670–1743), Missionary Society Administrator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39693>.

Ellys died before any firm arrangements with Harvard could be made. While Newman was surely disappointed, in the long run this was a happy outcome as the books would otherwise almost certainly have been lost in the fire of 1764 that destroyed the Harvard Library building and nearly all its contents.

That the library was left to the family and stayed out of the public eye at the family estate was an outcome unsatisfactory to many. Henry Newman was not the only one to appreciate the value and importance of Ellys's library, and to concern himself with its ultimate destination. A copy of Ellys's own work *Fortuita Sacra* at Harvard's Houghton Library has an inscription in the hand of Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), a republican lawyer at Lincoln's Inn:

> Sir Richard left a *very* <u>*choice*</u> Library to *Hobart*, Earl of Buckinghamshire, who was, it is apprehended, a Relation of his. But so independent were his Connections, & noble his Dispositions, that it is not improbable, had he lived to have seen the British Musaeum, or to have heard of the calamitous fire at Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New-England, for he affectionated the Colonials, those of N.E. especially, a manly, good People, he would have bestowed it, a common benefit, on one of those Institutions.[127]

While Hollis recognizes the claim of the Earl of Buckinghamshire to his relative's library, it is easy to detect a slight sneer in his tone and his evident disappointment that Ellys's books were not destined for a prominent public collection.

The immediate fate of Ellys's library upon his death is somewhat unclear, and it is likely that he died before any specific plans for the books could be made. His estate went to his second cousin Sir John Hobart, later the 1st Earl of Buckinghamshire, although his second wife Sarah held a life interest until she remarried, as well as an annual income of £4000.[128] Sarah married Sir Francis Dashwood, later Lord le Despencer, and the two lived at Nocton Hall, Ellys's Lincolnshire seat, until 1766, when the estate went to George Hobart (later the 3rd Earl), the first son of the 1st Earl by his second wife, and half-brother of the 2nd Earl. Dashwood, however, managed to hold onto some of Ellys's more interesting collections, including his coins, some engravings, and a catalogue of his Bible collection. These items

---

[127] Sir Richard Ellys, *Fortuita sacra: quibus subjicitur Commentarius de Cymbalis* (Rotterdam: apud Joannem Hofhout, 1727), Harvard, Houghton Library, C 1195.I.5*; Hollis's inscription is transcribed in full in Barker, *Treasures*, p. 127.
[128] 'Will of Sir Richard Ellys of Nocton , Lincolnshire', 1742, London, The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/716/230.

have not entered the public domain, and likely remain in the family's possession. The books had a different destiny. Ellys left an annuity of £100 to Mitchell, although Mitchell's professional connection to the library seems to have ended with Ellys's life or very shortly after.[129] Specific details of Ellys's plans for his books are lacking, but it seems clear that he saw his books as possessions separate from the rest of his estate and intended for the library to be kept together. The books must have gone immediately to the 1st Earl of Buckinghamshire (rather than to Sarah with the majority of his estate until her marriage). They may have been transferred to the 1st Earl's seat at Blickling Hall as early as April 1742, just two months after Ellys's death, at the same time as an engraved copperplate of John Hampden was sent there.[130] The books were certainly already on the shelves at Blickling by 1745. In that year a visitor to Blickling, thought to be William Fremen (d. 1749), described seeing:

> A very beautifull Library 132 by 20 & 18. & a rich Cieling [sic]. A charming Chimneypiece design'd by L^d^ Burlington S^r^ Rich^d^ Ellis who left the Books his Bust is plac'd between the broken parts of a Pediment which turn into 2 scrolls, & from the middle Point of ~~each~~ one to the other hangs a Garland really executed in delicate white marble quite detach'd only pendant at each end. Over the Books are Heads of the most famous Poets, Homer & Plato stand in a window. There is a large Window at the end that looks out on part of the Garden & a little Lake of 12 acres which is to be greatly enlarg'd.[131]

[129] ibid.
[130] 'A List of Several Things Laid by in the Drawers, and Elsewhere', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/5.
[131] William Fremen, 'Observations of a Traveller in England Principally on the Seats and Mansions of the Nobility and Gentry', London, Sir John Soane's Museum, MS AL.46A. My thanks to the staff of the museum for providing me with a photograph.

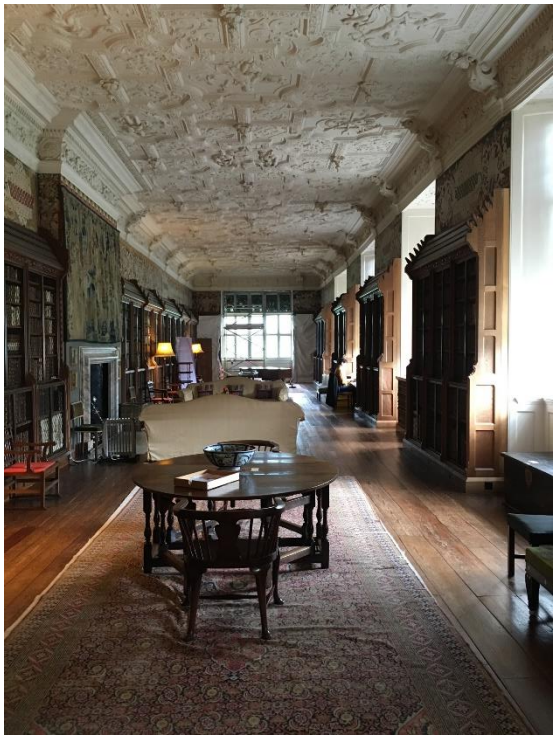

Figure 7 Blickling Hall, long gallery

In the 1st Earl's will he left the books (along with other possessions) to his second wife Elizabeth Bristowe (d. 1762). On her death they ought to have gone to her eldest son George (1731-1804), younger half-brother of the 2nd Earl John (who had inherited the Nocton estate in 1766), and yet the books never made it out of Norfolk. It seems there was some family controversy over possession of the books, as in 1760 the 2nd Earl had insisted that 'the Said Collection of Books and Manuscripts and the Said Bust, Pictures and Furniture' not be removed from Blickling without the specific consent of his father's second wife Elizabeth or her executors.[132] In the end Ellys's collection stayed at Blickling and the descendants of the 2nd Earl kept the books until the estate went to the National Trust in 1940. This was surely a sore loss for George, but a relief for future generations as the books were spared from the Nocton Hall fire of the 1830s. After his death, the 2nd Earl's younger daughter Caroline lived at Blickling with her husband William Assheton Harbord of nearby Gunton Hall, later Lord Suffield. After his death in 1821 she continued to live at Blickling until her own demise in 1850, at which point the Blickling estate passed to the grandson of her older sister Harriet,

[132] 'Pedigrees and Notes on the Hobart Family Collected by Henry Hobart, with Additions by Bulwer', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, COL 13/34/34.

William Schomberg Kerr, 8th Marquis of Lothian (1832-1870). It was he who provided the money to transform the Long Gallery in the 1850s, commissioning Benjamin Woodward and John Hungerford Pollen with their Gothic remodeling of this room and several others. The house was now no longer the principal seat of a local Norfolk family; the Lothians owned land all over the country, notably Newbattle Abbey in Midlothian. Blickling became the dower house of the 8th Marquis's widow, and she remained there until her own death in 1901. It was then let to a series of tenants, until 1932 when Philip Kerr the 11th Marquis chose to make it his principal English seat. Faced with £300,00 in death duties, he sold off lots of books from Blickling and Newbattle Abbey at the Anderson Galleries in New York in 1932. In 1940 the house and estate were bequeathed by him to the National Trust, and the years following will be the subject of the next chapter.[133]

The period in the library's history from Ellys's death in 1742 until Philip Kerr's death in 1940 is in many ways more shadowy than its development during Ellys's lifetime. And yet those two centuries also saw various people interacting with, reinterpreting, and using the books. Before Ellys's books arrived, the Long Gallery at Blickling Hall was used to display portraits and to take indoor exercise. In about 1745, the 2nd Earl (John) spent a significant amount of money on transforming the room into a library, with fitted book cases along all four walls and between the windows.[134] An unnamed property appraiser in 1756 described the room as an 'extraordinary good Gallery', and it was certain to have been as impressive a sight then as it is today.[135] It is unclear exactly how much the family made use of the books in their private reading, but the room must certainly have expressed to visitors the richness and status of its owners.

Over the generations, the families at Blickling gradually added to Ellys's original library. The books acquired by the early Earls of Buckinghamshire, if there were any, are virtually impossible to distinguish from Ellys's. In the will of the 2nd Earl, John, written in 1793, he assumed that his executors would either have to buy Ellys's books from his half-brother George (to whom they were left by George's mother), or that they would be removed. In the case of their removal, John assumed that a new library would have to be bought to replace them before his daughter Caroline could live comfortably at Blickling. His will laid out the

[133] John Maddison, *Blickling Hall* (London: National Trust, 1987), p. 55.
[134] ibid., p. 87.
[135] 'Valuation, 1756', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/252.

criteria for this new library, stating that 'the Books to be so purchased shall be of the most general use and as well for Information as Entertainment and that no high prices be paid for such Books as derive particular Merit only from being scarce or finely bound'.[136] Evidently book acquisition activities were carefully considered by Ellys's heirs, and yet John's priorities were different from Ellys's and almost seemed to disparage the dead man's selection decisions. John saw the library as an essential part of the house, but did not believe it should grow organically. To him, developing a library was almost like buying furniture or utensils for the kitchen: essential, practical, and banal. In the end, the library was purchased by John's executors for £2500 in 1802. The 3rd Earl, George, was perpetually impecunious and was probably just as glad to part with the library, even for this small amount. Later that same year the library fittings and furniture were purchased for an additional £50.[137]

Caroline, Lady Suffield, the younger daughter of the 2nd Earl, seems to have taken more interest in the library during her life at Blickling than her father or uncle. She and Lord Suffield introduced a small number of books from the library of Gunton Hall, Lord Suffield's nearby Norfolk estate. Some of the Blickling books may have also made their way to Gunton.[138] Similarly, the Blickling collection contains several books originating from Newbattle Abbey, the Scottish seat of the Lothian family (descendants of Caroline's sister, Harriet, who remained at Blickling until 1940). It is clear that the two libraries exchanged books over the years, and several Newbattle Abbey books are still recognizable on the shelves at Blickling. Beyond the exchanges one would expect to see between two houses owned by the same family, it is difficult to discern any sort of pattern to the acquisition of books at Blickling from 1742-1932. It does not seem that any member of the family was especially interested in a particular topic or period of printing, or even in the book trade at all. Certainly no large-scale acquisition activities were undertaken.

The fate of Ellys's library, remaining as a private family library, is in stark contrast to several other of the period's great book collections. It was this period that saw the beginning of a national library. Cries for a public national library in London had begun as early as the late 17th century, with a desire for 'a centralized authority' like the one the French royal library

[136] 'Will of John Earl of Buckinghamshire of Blickling Hall , Norfolk', 1793, London, The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/1237/175.
[137] Maddison, pp. 41-2
[138] My thanks to Mark Purcell for drawing this to my attention.

gave to France. A 1707 proposal to unite the Royal Society, Cottonian and Royal Libraries was unsuccessful, as was a 1743 attempt to unite the Cotton and Harley libraries.[139] Finally in 1753 the Cotton, Harley, and Sloane collections were amalgamated as the foundations of the British Museum and entered a new phase of life being used by the public for the benefit of all scholars. Edward Harley is a useful initial point of comparison in the examination of the use of Ellys's library after his death. Harley's house in Dover Street was just blocks from Ellys's in Bolton Street.[140] The two men don't seem to have shared a friendly relationship, given Ellys's purchase of the Anglo-Saxon Homily and Psalter manuscripts earmarked for Harley, but they were nonetheless colleagues in a shared pursuit of notable texts. Michael Maittaire had a fruitful relationship with Harley as well as Ellys; in 1724 he and Wanley arranged for Harley to buy some manuscripts of a Sgr. Zamboni, with the pair negotiating with Zamboni for several months.[141] Harley's library, however, was significantly larger than Ellys's. At the time of his death in 1741, his collection comprised '7369 manuscript volumes and14,236 original rolls, charters, deeds, and other legal documents, as well as extensive collections of antiquities, coins, medals, and other items of historical significance or curiosity.' By the time of his death, his library had 50,000 printed books and 350,000 printed pamphlets.[142]

In 1742 the printed books were bought by the bookseller Thomas Osborne for the sum of £13,000 (it was said that this was less than it cost to bind them) and were sold off at several sales over the next six years. The prologue of the sale catalogue (rather grandiosely) recognised the significance of the book collection, claiming that 'we may now surely be allowed to hope, that our Catalogue will be thought not unworthy of the Public Curiosity; that it will be purchased as a Record of this great Collection, and preserved as one of the Memorials of Learning'. The prologue went on to claim a national interest in the collection, saying:

> The Patrons of Literature will forgive the Purchaser of this Library, if he presumes to assert some Claim to their Protection and Encouragement, as he may have been instrumental in continuing to this

[139] McKitterick, 'Bibliography, Bibliophily, and the Organization of Knowledge', pp. 49-50.
[140] Purcell, *The Country House Library*, p. 219.
[141] Humfrey Wanley, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, ed. by C.E. Wright and Ransom C. Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), pp. 299, 301, 302, 304, 310, 312, 324-9, 341, 350, 371-4.
[142] David Stoker, 'Harley, Edward, Second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741), Book Collector and Patron of the Arts', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12337>.

> Nation the Advantage of it. The Sale of *Vossius's* Collection into a Foreign Country is, to this Day, regretted by Men of Letters; and, if this Effort for the Prevention of another Loss of the same Kind should be disadvantageous to him, no Man will hereafter willingly risque his Fortune in the Cause of Learning.[143]

Osborne makes the case that this collection is of national significance, elsewhere arguing for its usefulness on the basis of its relevance, uniqueness, and importance for scholars and non-scholars alike. He praises the comprehensiveness of the library, particularly the numerous Bibles listed and their benefit for Biblical scholarship and translation.[144] This is a lofty claim, and yet Osborne was proved right when, in 1753, the Harley family agreed to sell the manuscripts to the nation for £10,000 as one of the foundation collections of the British Museum.[145] Osborne's desire to see Harley's significant collections kept in Britain, for the use of the British people, was realized.

Sir Hans Sloane represents yet another important counterpoint to the use of Ellys's library after his death. When Sloane died a decade after Harley and Ellys, the desire for a national public collection was finally to come to fruition. Sloane's vast collections included not just books and manuscripts but immense numbers of natural science specimens, many of which he had acquired wholesale as ready-made collections from other enthusiasts. Like Ellys, he acquired the house next door to his own in London in order to store his rapidly expanding collections. He was 'punctilious in compiling catalogues of every aspect of his collection and library' and wrote to his acquaintance Jean Paul Bignon that: 'the collection and accurate arrangement of these curiosities constituted my major contribution to the advancement of science'.[146] Sloane saw his acquisitions as working research collections, and was 'always ready, on proper Notice to admit the Curious to the sight of his Museum'.[147] He wrote himself of his collections being open selectively to visitors, by which he meant the learned and curious like himself, and he provided public access as a rationale for his extensive collection of manuscripts.[148] He hoped that his manuscripts would continue to be widely used

---

[143] Johnson and Oldys, prologue to vol. 1, p. 8.
[144] ibid., pp. 4-5.
[145] Stoker.
[146] MacGregor, 'Sloane, Sir Hans, Baronet (1660–1753), Physician and Collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25730>; Jack A. Clarke, 'Sir Hans Sloane and Abbé Jean Paul Bignon: Notes on Collection Building in the Eighteenth Century', *The Library Quarterly*, 50.4 (1980), 475–82 (p. 478).
[147] Thomas Birch, 'Memoirs', London, British Library, Add. MS 4241.
[148] Hunt, 'Sloane as a Collector', p. 191.

after his death, ‘and in a pamphlet published towards the end of his life, An Account of a most Efficacious Medicine for Soreness, Weakness, and several other Distempers of the Eyes (1745), he set out a model case-study of how manuscript sources could help to advance medical progress’.[149] Unlike Ellys, or indeed Harley, he wrote out an extremely thorough will giving detailed instructions for the treatment of his collections. Thomas Birch thought this sprang from 'the Desire next his Heart … that his collection might be kept together for the instruction and Benefit of others engaged in the same pursuits’.[150] His wish for his collection’s continuing use was realized when Parliament purchased his collection and library for the nation. Much of the use of the Harley and Sloane collections, as part of the British Museum and subsequently the British Library, has involved the production of and portrayal of a national identity and a sense of shared national heritage. The two collectors’ reputations as men of knowledge, expertise, and taste was effectively transferred to a nascent collective national identity, by creating a public national institution with national, publicly-owned property.[151] The contrast between this national significance and Ellys’s largely unknown legacy simply cannot be overstated; Sloane’s books, like Harley’s, have remained in their use phase for centuries as scholarly and social tools, and continue to be regularly consulted, researched, and displayed at the British Library, while Ellys’s spent two centuries receiving only minor scholarly attention and functioning mainly as adjuncts to the family’s upper class lifestyle.

A different type of comparison can be seen in the library of Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725), which did not outlive its collector. The eighteenth-century bibliophile Thomas Frognall Dibdin called Thomas Rawlinson a ‘Leviathan’ among book collectors of the early eighteenth century, and it is certainly true that his collections were vast and significant.[152] Like Ellys, he was well-connected in scholarly circles and worked with John Bagford, Thomas Hearne, Richard Mead, and Michael Maittaire, the latter of whom made use of Thomas’s books as well as Ellys’s in his research on the history of typography. Thomas was a prolific buyer of

---

[149] ibid., p. 202; Sir Hans Sloane, *An Account of a Most Efficacious Medicine for Soreness, Weakness, and Several Other Distempers of the Eyes* (London: printed for Dan. Browne, 1745).
[150] Birch, ‘Memoirs’.
[151] Swann, p. 200.
[152] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliomania: Or Book Madness : A Bibliographical Romance, in Six Parts* (London: Printed for the Author, by J. M’Creery, Blackhorse-Court, Fleet-Street…, 1811), p. 458.

books, famously being forced out of his chambers at Gray's Inn when his stacks of books required him to sleep in the corridor. He was a poor domestic economist, accruing vast debts in his enthusiasm to acquire more and more books. *The Tatler* parodied him as Tom Folio, a man obsessed only with title pages and uninterested in a book's contents, but his friend Thomas Hearne staunchly defended Rawlinson in his own diary, insisting that Rawlinson was well able to understand, appreciate, and use his collected books. Hearne even went so far as to suggest that booksellers should be grateful to Rawlinson, as he '[drove] up the prices of books through his frequent and high bidding'.[153] Thomas's improvident buying led to his financial downfall, and he was forced to sell off books in six sales between 1721 and his death four years later. Further sales after his death brought the total to seventeen in all, and Seymour De Ricci has estimated that over 200,000 volumes were sold.[154] The book sales failed to make as much money as expected, and Theodor Harmsen attributes this to 'such factors as the sale arrangements, the great number of books released onto the market, the position and role of the booksellers, the condition of the items (often bad or imperfect), and the sales of other important collections in those years'. And yet these disappointing results for the Rawlinson family were good news for buyers at the sales, including Ellys, whose library has numerous volumes with Thomas's distinctive C&P mark. These items are, in line with Harmsen's view, not the grandest, most unusual, or most luxurious of the books in Ellys's collection, but they fill in gaps and provide bulk to the library.

It was Thomas Rawlinson's brother, Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), bishop in the Nonjuring church, who took charge of his brother's financial affairs after his death. Inspired by Thomas, Richard had also begun to collect books as a young man, and travelled extensively in Britain and on the Continent, buying books as he went. It was he who organized the sale of Thomas's vast collections, and when the books did not fetch the anticipated profit he remained in debt himself until 1748. Richard was not able to simply withdraw from sales the books he wanted for himself, and instead he was forced to outbid any other prospective buyers at the auctions; this he did with great success, and he acquired a significant number of Thomas's books and manuscripts. Richard's approach to collecting was not open to the same criticism as his brother's. Avoiding the accusations of haphazard

[153] Theodor Harmsen, 'Rawlinson, Thomas (1681–1725), Book Collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23195>.
[154] Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 45.

acquisitiveness, he carefully sought out particular items of interest. In addition to perusing sales and auctions, he searched through shops where paper was regularly used for wrapping goods; he became very adept at locating papers thought to be lost, and had these loose leaves bound into volumes to keep them organized and protected. He saw a clear value to his collections to scholars beyond himself, allowing access and loans to acquaintances with an academic interest in his library. He chose as his episcopal motto 'I collect and I preserve', 'words which accurately reflect his consuming passion, the love of collecting inspired by his conviction that materials must be acquired and preserved for future generations'.[155] This stated emphasis on preservation and his determination to 'provide for posterity without regard to this ungrateful age' is very much akin to Matthew Parker, and was perhaps a conscious effort to distance himself from the criticisms of his brother as an aimless gatherer of useless books.[156] In contrast to Thomas, Richard focused always on the legacy of his collections, highlighting preservation over ownership. He saw first-hand how Thomas's lack of foresight had a damaging effect on his collection (and indeed on Richard himself), and this motto seems to pre-empt those same miscalculations by emphasizing the pro-social and useful purpose of his collecting. Throughout his life he made numerous donations to the Bodleian, and named both the Bodleian and the Society of Antiquaries in his first will. When the Society of Antiquaries removed him from their council in 1754 because of his Jacobite loyalties, he revoked his bequest and left his collection solely to the Bodleian, calling it a 'sanctuary for use and curiosity'.[157] It is interesting that he differentiated between 'use' and 'curiosity', and gave equal weighting to the two in his assessment of the Library's purpose; valuing equally these two seemingly competing purposes to a library is reminiscent of Ellys's library, which also straddled the dichotomy between a 'useful' library and a collection of curiosities. The Rawlinson books and archive remain one of the Bodleian's prominent collections.

The fate of Thomas Rawlinson's books, being partially split up, sold off, and reintegrated into other people's libraries, and partially swallowed into his brother's collection, provides a foil to the libraries of Harley and Sloane. These other two collectors did not get to participate

[155] Mary Clapinson, 'Rawlinson, Richard (1690–1755), Topographer and Bishop of the Nonjuring Church of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23192>.
[156] Richard Rawlinson, 'Letter from Richard Rawlinson to George Ballard', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ballard 2.
[157] Richard Rawlinson, 'Letters', Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. lett. 31, fol. 444.

in a ‘collecting dynasty’ (in the words of Ray) by leaving books to be recirculated and re-collected by the next generation of collectors.[158] While Ellys’s library has, in contrast, remained virtually static and fossilized since his death, the 1932 sale in New York did ensure that some of his greatest treasures were redistributed, and facilitated their re-entry into their use phase as art objects of social significance. Other collectors, public and private, have been able to benefit from the re-acquisition of these books in the way Ellys himself did two centuries earlier. Despite their different routes, however, the books of all these libraries remained in the use phase of their life cycles in a very public sense, whether through redistribution in the market or by entering an institutional repository.

Unlike these other collections, Ellys’s library entered a primarily domestic role. Use of the books by the family at Blickling is not well documented and, as always, a lack of documentary material requires a focus on circumstantial evidence to examine how, and indeed whether, the books were used within the private realm. The most compelling evidence that caring for the books was a priority for the family is the employment of at least two librarians over the nineteenth century. The first was a Revd. Mr Joseph Churchill, from a local clerical family, who also compiled a catalogue of the books at Gunton Hall in 1810.[159] He was Lady Suffield’s chaplain and although he didn’t seem to be particularly a bibliographical specialist he was well able to receive visitors and answer enquiries. It was Churchill who made (some of) the changes to the arrangement of the books and recorded these moves by annotating the slip catalogue and changing or scratching out shelfmarks.[160] The second known librarian was Revd James Bulwer (1794-1879), who was also an antiquary and collector in his own right and was a founding member of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. He worked for Lady Suffield and later oversaw the 8th Marquis of Lothian’s renovations to the library in 1858. It seems that the nineteenth century saw the suggestion of a printed catalogue of the library by the 8th Marquis, who took quite an interest in the books and was also a member of the Roxburghe club and was President of the Society

[158] ‘The Private Collector’, p. 34.
[159] ‘Documents re. the Presentation of Churchill to the Rectory of Colby; Harbord, Lord Suffield Patron, 1799’, Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 577/1-4.
[160] ‘Mr Churchill List of Books Wanted at Blickling from N A Library, Mid-Nineteenth Century’, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Kerr papers, MS 5828, fol. 17.

of Antiquaries of Scotland.[161] Bulwer was involved in the consideration of this printed catalogue, but the proposal fell by the wayside and nothing beyond a sample page was ever produced.[162] The 8th Marquis also had a librarian at Newbattle Abbey, an Alexander Orrock who is also found in the Scottish Book Trade Index as a bookbinder.[163] The time and money spent on employing librarians to take care of and manage the library suggests that its owners wished the books to remain accessible, useable, and well-managed. Johan Blaeu's 1649 *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicae Regia* offers evidence of this: enclosed in its gilt-stamped vellum binding is a note from the nineteenth century (likely in Bulwer's hand) describing in great detail the volume's missing leaves; this is very much akin to the bibliographic notes often added by Mitchell during his tenure as librarian.[164] Evidently, subsequent generations of owners and librarians appreciated that the library was of interest to scholars and saw the value of noting copy-specific details in the books. While there is not extensive evidence of how the library was used in these two centuries, it is certain that the librarians facilitated its deployment as a tool of social interaction and scholarly research.

While Ellys's library missed out on the public praise and interest lavished on the likes of Harley's and Sloane's, the centuries after his death did see sporadic attention and use from interested scholars and the library's notoriety outlived its collector. The bibliophile Thomas Frognall Dibdin visited Blickling in 1824; he described the library in his *Library Companion* published that year, characterizing the collection as 'unrivalled' and 'fine'. He (mistakenly) explains that 'the books were procured chiefly by Maittaire, for Sir Richard Ellys, Bart. to whom he dedicated his Anacreon [sic] of 1725'. Dibdin recalls with pleasure how he spent a 'delightful' morning with Lady Suffield and her librarian, the Rev. Mr Joseph Churchill, 'in company with Atticus, and Marcus, and Pretronius … revell[ing] and riot[ing] midst strange Greek MSS. and quaint printed tomes'.[165] This seems an extraordinary way to characterize a

---

[161] Charles Clive Bigham Mersey, *The Roxburghe Club: Its History and Its Members, 1812-1927* (Oxford: The University Press, 1928), pp. 63 and 73-4; 'Letters to Lord Lothian', Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD40/9/461/10.
[162] 'Letters to Lord Lothian', Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD40/9/425/8/1.
[163] 'Alexander Orrock', *Scottish Book Trade Index*, 2016 <https://data.cerl.org/sbti/005827> [accessed 4 May 2022]; Alexander Orrock, 'Letters to the 8th Marquis of Lothian, 1867-70', Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Kerr papers, MS 5828.
[164]Johan Blaeu, *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicae Regia* (Amsterdam: I. Blaeu, 1649).
[165] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Library Companion: Or, The Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library* (London: Printed for Harding, Triphook, and

library visit; nowhere else does Dibdin describe such a festive atmosphere in the company of books. It seems that either his hosts or the library impressed him sufficiently to warrant this enthusiasm. Elsewhere in *The Library Companion*, when discussing the 1535 first edition of the Coverdale Bible, he notes that:

> In that most curious and magnificent old library at Blickling, in Norfolk, the seat of the Noble Family of the Hobarts, there are two copies of this description; of which one begins with fol. iii. of the *Old Testament*, having the remainder apparently perfect—and with fol. ii. to fol. cij. of the *New Test.* In the other copy all the introductory pieces are wanting: but the text, from beginning to end, is quite perfect.[166]

He also comments on the 32mo Sedan New Testament printed by Jean Jannon in 1628 (mentioned above), calling it 'an extraordinary and perhaps unique copy of this diminutive volume'.[167] He also notes that the volume is uncut. Evidently, these two Bibles were among the books most prized by Lady Suffield and Churchill, and they were brought out to be shown off to the illustrious visitor.

Others also took an interest in the library. Edmund Henry Barker, a Classics scholar from Thetford, corresponded with Churchill, Lady Suffield's librarian, about some of the manuscripts. Barker wished to borrow two Greek manuscripts by Johann Kaspar Suicer that he knew were in Ellys's collection, despite knowing that the Suffields did not lend items from their library. Churchill, in turn, refused this request to borrow the manuscripts but did offer Barker access to them at Blickling and assistance with transcribing them.[168] This strongly indicates that external scholars regularly requested access to items in the library and that Churchill was used to accommodating them at Blickling and enforcing the Suffields' rules about access. Another mid-nineteenth century visitor to the Blickling library was Richard Morris, who compiled an edition of the Blickling Homilies manuscript which was published in 1880 by the Early English Text Society.[169] This was the first published edition of the

---

Lepard : J. Major, 1824), p. 585. See also Purcell, 'The Country House Library Reassess'd', p. 163.

[166] ibid., p. 32.

[167] Jannon, ed.; Dibdin, *The Library Companion*, p. 43.

[168] Edmund Henry Barker, 'Letters to Revd Joseph Churchill of Blickling, with Draft Replies, 1819-1828', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/320 (see especially MC 3/320/1).

[169] Richard Morris, *The Blickling homilies of the tenth century: from the Marquis of Lothian's unique Ms. A.D.971*, Early English Text Society : Original series, 63 (London: N. Trubner, 1874-80).

manuscript and Morris's preface describes the work in detail, noting that one of the manuscript's two scribes wrote the date 971 A.D. on page 119 of the work. He describes the several lost leaves, and laments that:

> The leaves have been shamefully clipped, I suppose, by the binders, so as in many places to destroy the first line; and to make matter [sic] worse, the leaves are thrown together in the greatest disorder.[170]

He concludes his preface by expressing 'the thanks of our Society and myself to the Marchioness of Lothian and to the present Marquis of Lothian, for the loan of their unique MS'.[171] It seems that the family made an exception to their usual refusal to lend library items, perhaps recognizing the significance of the manuscript and appreciating the scholarly contribution to be made by its publication.

In 1869 Blickling received a visit from Alfred J. Horwood, a representative of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. The Commission was set up in that year by Queen Victoria, with the stated goal of elucidating:

> Various Collections of Manuscripts and Papers of general public interest, a knowledge of which would be of great utility in the illustration of History, Constitutional Law, Science, and general Literature, and that in some cases these Papers are liable to be lost or obliterated. … it appears to Us that there would be considerable public advantage in its being generally known where such Papers and Manuscripts are deposited, and that the contents of those which tend to the elucidation of History, and the illustration of Constitutional Law, Science, and Literature, should be published.[172]

Horwood was shown the manuscripts by the librarian, Rev. James Bulwer, and noted that the collection contained 'many MSS. of the Classics, Mediaeval Missals, and Books of Hours (which he had not then time to show to me)'. Although his report on the Blickling manuscripts is brief compared to many of his reports on other libraries, he did note that 'The first and second mentioned below would… make any library remarkable. A folio Psalter on vellum, written in Lombardic characters, with Anglo-Saxon glosses over many of the words. It is not later than the 9th century, but is unfortunately not complete. An 8vo. sized volume of

[170] ibid., p. viii.
[171] ibid., p. xvi.
[172] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1874), p. iii.

Anglo-Saxon Homilies of the 10th century on parchment.' The Blickling collection, however, did not contain 'many MSS. of the nature desired by the Commissioners', who were looking for documentary material of a historical nature. Although the Homily and Psalter manuscripts were noted and appreciated, Horwood and the Commission saw their value as material rather than historical; the Commission sought *content* of historical and national interest, prioritizing text over material history, and the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts were not useful or relevant to that agenda. Horwood gave brief titles of a few other manuscripts in the library, including 'a folio volume, paper, 17th century containing Arguments and Judgments in Hampden's Ship-Money Case' and two large folio volumes of letters from the 2nd Earl while he was Ambassador to Russia from 1762 to 1765, but overall he was quite dismissive of their interest or importance to the Commission. He was effusive, however, in his praise of his hosts at Blickling, sounding almost apologetic in his comment that 'the report would be long if it entered into the courtesies which the owner extended to me on the occasion of my visit'.[173]

The Commission's dismissal of the Blickling collection as historically insignificant was countered by scholars' attention to and use of the library's items. Several letters survive in the Norfolk Record Office that demonstrate ongoing interest in the library into the later nineteenth century. Lady Lothian corresponded with the bibliophile William Blades, and an 1872 letter from him survives in which he thanks her for allowing him to visit the library in the course of his research and encloses his description of the Caxton books.[174] Four years later, a Godolphin Weldene wrote to Lady Lothian about a version of the Havelock romance in one of the Blickling manuscripts. He excitedly claimed that the manuscript provided evidence of East Anglian source material for the Havelock story and noted the importance of this discovery.[175] The Blickling Homilies manuscript was treasured above all others, being described by one visitor as 'the gem of all'.[176] Lady Lothian herself recognized its historical significance, and the Norfolk Records Office holds a note in her hand describing Anglo-Saxon history and the importance of the Blickling Homilies manuscript to the historical study

[173] ibid., appendix, p. 14.
[174] William Blades, 'Letter to Constance, Lady Lothian, 1872', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/852/1-4.
[175] Godolphin Weldene, 'Letters to Constance, Lady Lothian, 1876', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/853/1-5.
[176] 'Note on the Blickling Library (mid-nineteenth century)', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/858/2.

of the English language.[177] Less academically-minded visitors were also greeted in the nineteenth century. One such tourist enthused that '[the Blickling library] is said to contain a copy of every book published in England from the first invention of printing down to the time of the Commonwealth'.[178] (While this certainly is not the case, it follows a pattern of impressed hyperbole still expressed by visitors.) Clearly, the significance of the library was recognized by the scholarly community in the centuries after Ellys's death, and his collection continued to be used as a resource for research while in the possession of his heirs.

Another strong indication of the ongoing use and management of the library is the alteration of Mitchell's original catalogue into its current form in the large album-style volumes. The specific rationale for its reconstruction is not clear, but the very fact of the transformation suggests that the old catalogue was repurposed to ensure its continuing utility. The catalogue certainly played a role in the management of the library after Ellys's death. The entry for the Haggadah manuscript has a pencil note in an unknown hand indicating that the manuscript is 'in London'. Although the handwriting is difficult to date, it must be from after Ellys's death, as during his lifetime the vast majority of his books were in London by default. It is difficult to tell if the note was added before or after the slips were pasted into the current album volumes, but it certainly suggests that some of the more impressive items in the collection were being transported to different regions for display or perhaps repair and their catalogue entries updated accordingly. It is clear that the current album volumes were constructed and bound sometime in the nineteenth century. There is a small clue on one of the slips that confirms this. The entry for 'Petrarcha (Franc.) Exemplum privilegij Larues Apollinaris …' (written in Mitchell's hand) lists a volume of several works, all dating from 1531 and bound together. A note in another hand next to the entry reads 'July 1760 Not found in its place', and below that another note in yet another hand reads 'Found in its Place Aust 1801.' The F in 'Found' has been slightly trimmed off at the edge, indicating that the slip was cut after the book was found in 1801 and that the slips were still in their original form at that point.

While it is logical to assume the new version of the catalogue was meant to be used as an accurate record of the library's contents, its somewhat slapdash appearance undermines this supposition. It does not seem that the slips were carefully cut out of one book and pasted into

[177] Lady Constance Harriet Mahonesa Talbot, 'Notes by Lady Lothian on Anglo-Saxon History', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/854/1-2.
[178] 'Note on the Blickling Library (Mid-Nineteenth Century)'.

another with a comprehensive plan. For one thing, the slips are in no way of uniform size or shape: some are short and some are long, some are wide and some are narrow. Some of the narrowest slips are cut so closely that the words are trimmed off at the edge, even when they are far too narrow to risk not fitting in the album book, as for the entry for 'Philips (Edw.) The new World of Words', in which the edge of the title is trimmed off.[179] Additionally, whoever bound these albums was not well-versed in the history of the library, as the spine lettering attributes the catalogue not to John Mitchell but to Michael Maittaire. Perhaps the confusion arose from the M codes in many of the books and Ellys's known association with Maittaire, but a cursory glance at the library's annotations by Maittaire would have clearly revealed that the M codes and catalogue entries are not in his hand. If the catalogue was meant to be of continued usefulness, the high number of invisible entries where a slip has been pasted written side down is a major problem. This strongly suggests that by the time the slips were pasted into the new album volumes, they were past being used regularly and had been overtaken by a newer, more accurate catalogue. Perhaps these album volumes were nothing more than a way to easily and neatly store the slips from Mitchell's original catalogue to allow easy, but inaccurate, perusal of the library. Alternatively, the current state of the album catalogue could be an intermediate step of an intended, but unfinished, project to accurately catalogue the library's contents in the nineteenth century, with blank slips added to allow for future acquisitions.

There is some slight evidence to suggest non-reading use by the library's owners. The first is an inscription in the 1727 *Histoire des guerres et des négociations qui précédèrent le traité de Vestphalie* that reads 'Ellys Library at Blickling' on the front fly leaf in an unidentified eighteenth-century hand.[180] This book certainly belonged to Ellys as it has Mitchell's M cataloguing code, but the inscription clearly dates from after his death when the books were at Blickling; it seems likely to have served as an ownership mark when the book was lent to someone outside the house. Interestingly, it also demonstrates that the library was very much still associated with Ellys rather than its new owner in the Hobart family. So, as they had

[179] Edward Phillips, *The New World of Words: Or, Universal English Dictionary*, the sixth edition, revised, corrected, and improved (London: printed for J. Phillips; H. Rhodes; and J. Taylor, 1706).
[180] Guillaume-Hyacinthe Bougeant, *Histoire des guerres et des négociations qui précédèrent le traité de Vestphalie* (Paris: Chez Jean Mariette, rue S. Jacques, aux Colonnes d'Hercules, 1727).

during Ellys's lifetime, the books continued to perform their role as tools of social interaction and social capital after his death.

It is clear that use of the books did not end with Ellys's life. Even during his lifetime the significance and value of his library as a resource for scholarship was recognized, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to ensure its ongoing accessibility. These failed plans meant that the library bypassed the public institutions that received many of his colleagues' collections, and entered the private realm of Blickling Hall. Its position in a private home, however, did not mean that it was unknown to or ignored by scholars; and Blickling was visited by several researchers during the nineteenth century. The evidence left behind in the album catalogue volumes, as well as the employment of at least two librarians at Blickling, indicate that managing the library was a concern for the family and that ongoing use of the library continued privately in the house just as in the public realm.

Conclusion

It is clear that use is a distinct phase of a book's life cycle, and that it includes multiple behaviours. Ellys's library saw a range of use behaviours, both scholarly and social, during his life and in the centuries following, and it is clear that all four of Baudrillard's types of value were present in the use of the library. For Ellys, the use stage encompassed an important function of self-definition, self-presentation, and the display of status, making use of the sign value of his books as indexes of erudition and financial resources. The library functioned as a focal point around which Ellys could construct his identity as a man of taste, discernment, and learning, and portray this outwardly to his peers. The lifestyle of distinction given him by his impressive library further emphasized his position of high social status.

Certainly reading was an important aspect of the use phase, and the use of books as reading material highlights their functional value, but there is very limited physical evidence of reading with minimal annotations and no separate notes or commonplace books. However, what few signs there are stand as evidence of different types of reading behaviour that Ellys displayed. Some books were read thoroughly and intensively, their contents fully taken in and digested. Others were likely not read as thoroughly, as their physical state makes them more

suited for occasional perusal than intensive page-turning. A specific group of books was evidently consulted as reference works for the management and development of the library, and was used to gain and demonstrate the cultural competence necessary to steward Ellys's collection. Other readers also made use of the library's books, and the annotations of the scrawly hand in particular suggest an ongoing research project, seeking specific pieces of information from the collection.

At the same time, the library served an important role in Ellys's social life, acting as a focal point for many of his interpersonal interactions. He deployed his books strategically to gain social capital and affirm his position in his personal circle, as evidenced in his presentation of a collection of pamphlets to Sir John Gonson, and his donation of the Picard work to the Spalding Gentleman's Society. The library was also used in a more public-facing capacity, serving a purpose beyond Ellys's own interests by meeting the needs of other scholars. These activities show the symbolic value and exchange value of the library; the formalized transactions of a gift or a donation are certainly symbolic acts, but the social capital Ellys gained in these transactions also relies on a recognition of the books' exchange value.

The use activities occurring after Ellys's death in 1742 echo many of his own behaviours. Although in both cases there is minimal evidence of the books' owner simply sitting down to read them, it is clear that the library was used in other, more socially complex ways. Just as Ellys had, the subsequent generations of owners continued to use the books as tools of social transactions for the benefit of external scholars who took an interest. The library furnished on his heirs a persona of financial and aesthetic resources and an identity as a family of distinction through the portrayal of social status. While the Hobarts, the Suffields, and the Lothians did not enjoy the same reputation for learning and academic achievement that Ellys did, nevertheless they recognized the uniqueness of the library and appreciated the academic and historical value of the books. The final chapter, Afterlife, will examine what happened to Ellys's library in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, beginning with the 1932 sale in New York and ending with the collection's current guardianship under the National Trust, and will discuss how the books reached an inflection point that signaled the end of their time as useful objects and the beginning of their afterlife phase as museum artefacts.

Chapter Five: Afterlife

The Blickling library itself contains a reference to its own afterlife, in Michael Maittaire's *Senilia* of 1742. The work includes some poems in Ellys's honour, including several stanzas from the point of view of the library mourning its dying owner.[1] The poem is about the books mourning the loss of their master's touch, and regaining their charm when meeting again with a learned man. This is an interesting perspective on Afterlife, with the books yearning to be used again by another scholar and regain their useful purpose. The books want to be used and have their pages turned rather than just be admired. Even at a remove of nearly three centuries, today Ellys's books are a technology still useable in the same way as he used them. But they have now taken on an additional role as physical objects connected to the past, allowing modern scholars to employ them as a lens through which to view that past. No longer used for reading, they are now artefacts of history.

Afterlife is in many ways the most important to be aware of as a stage in the life of the library, as it is through the activities, processes and behaviours of this stage that our entire knowledge and view of Ellys and his library is filtered. This is the lens through which we are obliged to study the library. Separating afterlife activities from our assumptions and view about the library and its owner is complicated and complex, especially as the library, today, remains in its afterlife phase. What do we consider as the 'afterlife' of a library? Can the current Blickling library be said to be the same collection as Ellys's? Is it instead an entirely new entity because of the various processes of acquisition, integration, and use that have occurred in the intervening years, and the dramatically different way the library is viewed now? Virtually no private libraries have remained static after the demise of their original collector; as Purcell says, 'most of the Trust's collections do not reflect the needs or preoccupations of any one generation or individual, but a gradual accretion, with new books coming in, old ones discarded or kept according to whim, and the collections of friends and relations absorbed'.[2] Certainly Ellys's library has been added to, taken away from, rearranged, and repurposed, but, unlike many still-intact family libraries, its make-up has

[1] *Senilia, sive poetica aliquot in argumentis varii generis tentamina* (London: finem imposuit Gulielmus Bowyer anno salutis humanae, 1742), p. 115.
[2] Mark Purcell, 'The Country House Library Reassess'd: Or, Did the "Country House Library" Ever Really Exist', *Library History*, 18.3 (2002), 157–74 (p. 161).

remained essentially unchanged. It is instead the interpretation and valuing of its contents that have altered radically over the centuries since his death.

This final chapter will explore how the last hundred years have witnessed a profound shift in this library, as it has gone from a private, family collection to a group of institutionally-owned museum artefacts. I have chosen to begin the Afterlife chapter with the 1932 New York sale of the library's finest items by the 11th Marquis of Lothian, rather than with Ellys's death, because, as shown in the previous chapter, the books were still in their Use phase while they remained with the family (however little they may have been read). The 1932 auction saw many of Ellys's greatest treasures plucked from their environment and sold to American buyers. It is not hyperbole to describe this sale as a watershed in the life cycle of this library. It dramatically altered the character of the remaining collection by removing its greatest and most famed treasures from Blickling.

The 1932 sale and the subsequent transfer of the remaining books to the National Trust is an inflection point in the life cycle of these books. For some, their use phase continued. For the majority, however, this moment solidified their status as artefacts; use is over, and afterlife begins. This moment signaled the end of a long period of family ownership of the books and the beginning of institutional guardianship of the collection. It is this institutional period in the collection's life that will be the focus of the rest of the chapter, beginning with an examination of the books' (near-)century period of National Trust stewardship. The nature of this institutional guardianship is different in nature from what might be expected for a collection of this size and caliber; it is easy to envision a scenario wherein Ellys's books, like many of his contemporaries', went to an academic or national library. The National Trust is not a library organization, nor was it ever intended to be. This section will demonstrate that the Blicking books should, in the twenty-first century be understood not as a library but as part of a museum collection. Ellys's library has essentially transitioned from a disparate group of books into a single museum artefact: one made up of multiple pieces but always viewed and valued as a single collection, rather than as the individual books of a library.

The Trust is in the unenviable position of attempting to negotiate the tensions inevitable in the heritage sector. This has a number of dimensions: the prioritizing of use or display; the dichotomy between entertainment and academic research; the constraints imposed by an environment increasingly insistent on 'value for money'; the delicate balance between preservation and access; and the role of the Trust, the estate, and the books in cultural

storytelling and the production and portrayal of national heritage. All of these are concerns in the discourse of the heritage sector, and all can be seen in the recent history of Ellys's books at Blickling. Certainly there are downsides to the books' position at the National Trust, as they are not easily accessible to scholars and other users. At the same time, however, there is a very definite upside: the preservation and public display of cultural heritage. The library's afterlife is ongoing and current; examining the contemporary circumstances of the collection opens up questions about how the books fit into the heritage sector, and how we might interpret their present value as information carriers and museum artefacts. The books are no longer prized for their usefulness, but are instead preserved as items of the national history and heritage of the United Kingdom. Having left the realm of the private sphere and entered the public arena, they now exist as objects of display and historical witness.

The chapter will end with a discussion of the prominent themes that have emerged through this thesis, including Ellys and Mitchell's navigation of an increasingly complicated information environment, the development, confirmation, and portrayal of identity and public persona, and the different types of value seen in the library's history. It will conclude with a discussion of the validity of seeing library history as social history, and will suggest opportunities for further research beyond this thesis.

The Collectable Books: The 1932 Sale

The Settled Lands Act of 1882 meant that landowners could break entails and sell the contents of their houses; this meant that books could suddenly be sold as a way of easing financial strains. Books from many estates now owned by the National Trust were sold off and dispersed throughout the country and abroad.[3] The 11th Marquis of Lothian, Philip Kerr, availed himself of this opportunity when he was faced with £300,000 of death duties. He arranged to sell the greatest treasures of the libraries of Blickling Hall and Newbattle Abbey at the Anderson Galleries in New York in 1932. The sale took place over two days in January and featured thirty-five manuscripts and 133 printed books. An extensive sale catalogue was produced in advance of the sale with a foreword written by the art historian, bibliographer, and prolific writer of catalogues Seymour De Ricci, who also wrote the descriptions of the

[3] ibid., p. 170.

manuscript items on offer.[4] The catalogue is divided into three sections: manuscripts; printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and early books on America, the Far East, navigation and travel, with the lots in each section arranged chronologically. The entry for each lot consists of bibliographic details, an overview of the significance and rarity of the item(s) and any features of particular note, as well as an image of the binding or a leaf.

De Ricci's introduction heaps praise upon the collection, emphasizing the significance and rarity of the items sold (perhaps overemphasizing, in an effort to portray the books as status objects):

> The small collection of thirty-five manuscripts and one hundred thirty-three books described in this catalogue is the most valuable and interesting to be sold by auction in this country since the Robert Hoe sales of 1911 and 1912. The outstanding artistic and historical importance of nearly every item here listed, the remarkable circumstance that not one of them has changed hands for the past century or more, the additional interesting fact that they come directly from two old family libraries formed two hundred years ago and belonging to one of the most illustrious families of great Britain, made the task of the cataloguers not only pleasant but even thrilling.[5]

De Ricci gives limited information as to the provenance of the collection, mentioning Ellys only once in the foreword as 'a noted Greek and Hebrew scholar and a friend of the learned bibliographer Michael Maittaire, who seems to have been his librarian.'[6] His enthusiasm is instead concentrated on the windfall that the sale represents to the American market:

> For the first time in the annals of the American auction room will be offered for sale, as the first two lots of the first session, an English manuscript of the eighth century, the *Lincoln Psalter*, and an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the year 971, the world-famous *Blickling Homilies*. The possession of two such volumes would give distinction to any library in the world, and the British Museum has nothing in its show-cases more worthy of the scholar's admiration along these particular lines.[7]

---

[4] American Art Association, *Illuminated Manuscripts, Incunabula and Americana from the Famous Libraries of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian ... Sale January 27 and 28, 1932 at 8:15 P.M.* (New York: American art association, Anderson Galleries Inc., 1932); Seymour de Ricci, 'Foreword', in *Illuminated Manuscripts Incunabula and Americana from the Famous Libraries of the Most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian* (New York: American art association, Anderson Galleries Inc., 1932), pp. [iii-v].
[5] De Ricci, 'Foreword', p. [iii].
[6] ibid., p. [iii].
[7] ibid., p. [iv].

His foreword also draws particular attention to the 1462 Mainz Bible (which Ellys and Mitchell mistakenly believed to be the first printed Bible), the Coverdale Bible, and two bindings produced for Diane de Poitiers, mistress to the French King Henri II.

Throughout the catalogue, the descriptions of the lots demonstrate a powerful shift in the way some of Ellys's books are valued. Removed from centuries of relative calm on the shelves of Blickling, these books and manuscripts are suddenly thrust back into the exciting and competitive world of commerce: an excitement and competition that is reiterated and amplified by the words of the catalogue. Their appeal and significance is, throughout, attributed to their status as artefacts rather than as information carriers, and the sale is presented as an opportunity for private collectors to participate in the same arena of self-presentation and status demonstration that Ellys himself inhabited. Unfortunately, it is only possible to discuss the whereabouts and fate of select items from the sale. The majority of the books have, presumably, been subsumed into the aether of private ownership and are not easily traced or accessed. Several, however, went on to a life of acclaim as holdings of large American institutional libraries.

The first lot offered was the manuscript now known as the Blickling Psalter. De Ricci notes that it closely resembles the British Museum Library's Cotton Vespasian A.I psalter from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. While he notes that the manuscript comes from Ellys's library (suggesting that the binding was supervised by Maittaire, whom he thought to be Ellys's librarian), he was not aware of how Ellys came to acquire it. He emphasizes the insular half-uncial script as the most appealing feature of this work, writing in capital letters that it is 'one of two or three uncial manuscripts still remaining in private hands'. Clearly De Ricci is here appealing to a collector's desire to personally own this rare manuscript, whose value is based mainly on its status as a specimen of the uncial script. The volume was bought by Rosenbach for $23,000 (equivalent to $460,520 US or £342,310 in 2021), and eventually ended up at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City.[8]

The second lot must have been the most highly-anticipated: the Blickling Homilies manuscript, bought by Beyer for $55,000 (equivalent to $1,101,244 US or £818,567).[9] The manuscript consists of three parts: a calendar dating from the mid-fifteenth century; a

[8] American Art Association, p. 1; '[Blickling Psalter]' (Northern Northumbria, 730), New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS 776.
[9] American Art Association, pp. 2-3.

selection of Gospel passages of the early fourteenth century used for administering oaths; and an Old English homiliary dated A.D. 971 which makes up the bulk of the pages. Richard J. Kelly notes in the introduction to his edition that 'the present order of the three parts dates from an early nineteenth-century binding. It is tenable, though not ultimately provable, that this format is the original historical order'.[10] De Ricci's description of this lot is, at two pages, the longest in the catalogue. Like the Psalter, the inducement to bid is based on the item's materiality and absolute uniqueness as 'an incomparable Anglo-Saxon manuscript' and the only one 'of any importance' remaining in private hands. Fame and notoriety await the buyer, as 'no American public or private library seems to own one single MS. page in Anglo-Saxon.' His praise extends also to the significance of the text itself: he notes that this is the only copy of this version of the homilies, and describes them as 'among the most important examples of early Anglo-Saxon literature', noting that 'the palaeographical value of such a manuscript is on a par with its literary and linguistic interest.' And yet there is clearly an accompanying awareness of the inviting celebrity of this manuscript's texts, which 'ever since they have been known … have received a place of honor in every history of English literature.' The opportunity to personally own such an ancient artefact, rarely to be found 'outside of the great national repositories', is evidently De Ricci's chosen tactic to encourage bidders.[11]

This manuscript, understandably, fetched the highest price of the 1932 auction. The manuscript was later purchased from Beyer by Cortlandt Field Bishop (1877-1935), a well-known American book collector and owner of the American Art Association Anderson Galleries where the Lothian auction took place. After Bishop's death the gallery put the manuscript up for sale again, after which an unknown owner retained it for three years before it was bought by Abraham Rosenbach for $38,000 in 1938. Rosenbach, a specialist book dealer, was acting on behalf of John H. Scheide, the unsuccessful underbidder for this lot at the Lothian sale. The Blickling Homilies manuscript was one of the last significant acquisitions to the Scheide collection before his death; it has been in the Scheide collection since 1938, and was donated to Princeton University with the rest of the collection in 2015.[12]

---

[10] Richard J. Kelly, *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation (with General Introduction, Textual Notes, Tables and Appendices, and Select Bibliography)* (London ; New York: Continuum, 2003), p. xxix.
[11] American Art Association, p. 2.
[12] 'Scheide Donates Rare Books Library to Princeton; Collection Is Largest Gift in University's History', *Princeton University* <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2015/02/16/

Aside from the Blickling Psalter at the Morgan Library, it is the only Old English manuscript in the Americas.[13] Scheide seems to have had a lot in common with Ellys. Both had a preoccupation with books and texts beyond the material, and shared an interest in 'the central importance of the art of writing and particularly of the printed word in the transmission and dissemination of ideas' and in the influence of the Bible on European and American culture. He was beginning a large study of the manuscript when he died.[14]

The catalogue entries for the printed books, although not described by De Ricci, employ the same strategy of emphasizing the rarity, historical significance, and status associated with the future owner of any of these items. The 1462 Mainz Bible is found at lot thirty-six, and the entry describes it as 'a superb copy of the first dated edition of the Bible, a typographical production of outstanding importance…in virtually pristine condition.' The work was bought by Beyer for $19,000 and is now at the Library of Congress as part of the Lessing J. Rosenwald collection.[15] Although the cataloguer, to his disadvantage and unlike Mitchell, cannot claim to be describing the earliest printed Bible, he nonetheless insists on its historic significance as 'the first example of a book formally divided into two volumes.' Additionally, he points out the colourful initials and chapter numbers: he claims that some are printed in red and blue ink, while others are stamped in blind and painted over by hand in the same colours. The two types are easily distinguished, and the cataloguer posits that the brighter colour of the hand-painted initials was added to give the more vivid appearance associated with a manuscript. Not relying on its typographical significance as a sufficient draw, the cataloguer reinforces the work's rarity by noting that 'this is the first complete copy of this edition ever offered for sale by auction in America, and is one of the four or five copies now remaining in private hands'.[16]

This claim to rarity on the basis of the small number of copies existing in private hands occurs throughout the catalogue, where the cataloguers frequently note that most or all other extant copies of a work are in institutional collections. These institutional collections are seen

---

scheide-donates-rare-books-library-princeton-collection-largest-gift-universitys> [accessed 19 August 2022].

[13] Kelly, p. xxx; '[Blickling Homilies]' (England, 1100), William H. Scheide Library, MS 30.2.

[14] Kelly, pp. xxx-xxxi.

[15] *[Biblia latina]*; 'Item Record: Bible, Mainz, 1462', *Library of Congress, Online Catalogue* <https://www.loc.gov/item/48037378/> [accessed 5 May 2022].

[16] American Art Association, pp. 19-20.

as closed off, with their materials never to be available for private ownership. This sense of scarcity, of rare books made rarer and more urgently desirable by being unavailable as personal possessions, is assuredly a marketing tactic used by the auction house and yet it relies on a timeless desire to personally possess what is not easy to possess. It perfectly mirrors the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century phenomenon of artificially inflated prices for rare and ancient books as they became a 'marketable category'.[17] This disdain for institutional collections is striking, and suggests a strong intention to attract private buyers. It further demonstrates that the priority of these private book collectors is not to facilitate public use and access to these splendid books. Their motivation, rather, is to remove these books from their use phase and usher them into an afterlife as collectible artefacts; this is in notable contrast to Ellys and his contemporaries, who, in the absence of public national libraries, justified their collections as 'scholarly' or 'learned' and frequently made their collections available to interested researchers.

This same tactic is employed for lot seventy-six, a copy of the 1535 first edition of the Coverdale Bible – the first edition of the Old and New Testaments to be printed in English. Ellys owned two copies of this work, the second of which was dismantled and heavily harvested in order to make up this complete copy for sale. The cataloguer acknowledges the imperfection but insists that 'the restorations … have been most skillfully executed, and in spite of these defects very few copies in public libraries, and only two known to be in private hands, may be compared favorably with the present one.' Despite its shortcomings, the work is still described as 'a volume of excessive rarity in any condition' and its desirability underscored by its unavailability.[18]

It is in moments of transaction that changing value can best be seen, and the Lothian sale perfectly demonstrates the shifting value as this library transitioned from a family collection to a commercial entity with the offered books now seen as possessable collectibles of great economic value. The loss of these items from the Blickling collection is, on the one hand, regrettable: as members of a British family collection, they bear witness to national heritage and the intellectual history of a country to which they will likely never return. But on the other hand, some of those books selected to be sold in 1932 have been able to leave their

[17] Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book Trade : Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 106.
[18] American Art Association, p. 40.

afterlife phase and begin again with acquisition, integration and use, and those in public institutional collections have received significant attention from scholars, conservators, and funders. The Blickling Psalter manuscript is now at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS 776). The manuscript was bought by the Morgan Library on 4 February 1932, only a few days after its sale in late January of that year. It is currently fully available in facsimile on microform at the Morgan, and the glosses are available in print in Henry Sweet's 1885 *The Oldest English Texts* and in a supplement to Richard Morris's edition of the Blickling Homilies manuscript. While the Blickling Psalter is not one of the Morgan Library's top-tier treasures, the uniqueness of its Old English glosses makes it a highlight of the collection. It has been used in displays in the library and in at least one exhibition, and it is frequently shown to groups of library donors and supporters during tours. A representative of the Morgan Library estimated that there had been approximately fifteen requests for access in the last five years, not all of which were approved, and a couple of digital image requests. The manuscript is on the list for full digitization, although it is not clear exactly when that will happen.[19]

The Blickling Homilies manuscript, which is now at the Scheide Library at Princeton University (MS 71), is enjoying an even more illustrious present. There are three translated editions available and an extensive secondary literature written about it, mostly regarding the importance of the homilies in shedding light on Anglo-Saxon spirituality and religion.[20] The manuscript is so well studied that 'Blickling Homilies' has its own Library of Congress subject heading. The Blickling Homilies manuscript is fully digitized and available to view online.[21] Also fully viewable online is the 1462 Mainz Bible at the Library of Congress.[22] It was not possible to obtain statistics for how frequently these digitizations are viewed, but it is

[19] Henry Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts: Edited With Introductions and a Glossary*, Early English Text Society : Original series, 83 (London: Trübner for the Early English Text Society, 1885); 'Item Record: Blickling Psalter', *The Morgan Library & Museum, Online Catalogue*, 2017 <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/143965> [accessed 15 April 2019]. My great appreciation to the Morgan Library, in particular to Maria Isabel Molestina for taking the time to speak with me about the manuscript.
[20] Richard Morris, *The Blickling homilies of the tenth century: from the Marquis of Lothian's unique Ms. A.D.971*, Early English Text Society : Original series, 63 (London: N. Trubner, 1874-80) ; Rudolph Willard, *The Blickling Homilies*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960); Kelly.
[21] 'Item Record: Blickling Homilies', *Princeton University Library, Online Catalogue* <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9934995233506421> [accessed 15 August 2019].
[22] 'Item Record: Bible, Mainz, 1462'.

certain that they are consulted much more often than any of the books at Blickling. When they were selected for sale, the most illustrious of these thirty-five manuscripts and 133 printed books were offered the chance to contribute to the field of book and manuscript history and many have received the scholarly attention that is certainly their due. Rather than enter a period of afterlife, they have begun a new use period as heavily researched specimens.

The Book Collection: The National Trust Years

The majority of Ellys's books have stayed in the afterlife phase of their life cycle; rather than being used or useful, they are now in a static environment. The National Trust is simply not a library; while it obviously cares about the preservation of the books, its limited resources and museum orientation mean that it does not offer the functions of a research library and has not been able to meet the needs of scholars. Not a group of splendid individual objects for sale, and not a library for reading and research, the books are now best understood as a unified collection; their afterlife is shared, with no individual item marked for special treatment or notice but with the collection as a whole preserved in perpetuity. In this mode of afterlife, unlike the fate of the books selected for the Lothian sale, it is their position in the shared destiny of the whole collection that gives the books value and significance. Rather than being read or used individually, the collection functions as a historical artefact, embodying and portraying the social and cultural history of the eighteenth-century intellectual environment.

The estate was bequeathed to the National Trust just eight years after the New York sale, following the National Trust Act of 1907 and the Country House Scheme of 1937. This legislation enabled estate owners to leave their houses to the National Trust in lieu of paying death duties, and the 11th Marquis of Lothian had, understandably, been heavily involved in its design. When Blickling was bequeathed to the Trust in 1940, it was one of the first major estates acquired by the organization. This allowed the 11th Marquis to avoid financial ruin by divesting himself of his money-hungry estate: the library and the rest of the estate, to him, now wholly a source of income. That the books remained with the rest of the estate is understandable, but nevertheless leaves them in a somewhat unexpected position: in a museum, rather than a library.

It is here, in the afterlife stage, where the strongest contrasts between Ellys's library and many of his contemporaries' libraries are visible. Thomas Rawlinson's books, for instance, were recirculated and contributed to the development of others' libraries. His brother Richard's books (many of which were originally Thomas's) represented a significant bequest to the Bodleian, and he is still recognized as an important benefactor to the library and the University of Oxford. The Harley collection at the British Library contains some of the most well-known of the Library's treasures, many of which are frequently on display in the public exhibition spaces. Sir Hans Sloane's collections receive even more scholarly attention. Whole books have been written about his collections: James Delbourgo's 2017 *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum*, and the 2012 *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections* edited by Michael Hunter, Alison Walker and Arthur MacGregor to name just two.[23] In 2016, the British Library and Queen Mary University of London offered an AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Partnership on Hans Sloane and his books, undertaken by Alice Wickenden with the thesis title 'Hans Sloane's Library and Its Material Connections' and completed in 2021.[24] To put it in terms (unfortunately) familiar to academics, the 'impact' of the Blickling collection has been limited due to its inaccessibility. The large New York sale, and the publication of the thorough and grandly illustrated catalogue, contributed to the attention and praise lavished on the magnificent books and manuscripts that were sold in 1932. Those remaining at Blickling, in contrast, languished in obscurity in windy North Norfolk. Robert Landon has described how 'much more is known about the collections sold at auction or through the trade than those that have remained wholly, or in part, in situ' and indeed if the entire library had been sold, a full catalogue would have facilitated scholarly attention and exploration on a scale that, now, remains unlikely.[25] Without disparaging the National Trust, or suggesting that the organization has been neglectful or obstructive towards researchers, it is certainly possible to highlight the strange position of the Blickling books: a collection of great significance to book and library history, held by a museum organization. The National Trust simply does not

[23] James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017); Michael Hunter, Alison Walker, and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *From Books to Bezoars : Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections* (London: British Library, 2012).
[24] 'Alice Wickenden', *The British Library* (The British Library) <https://www.bl.uk/case-studies/alice-wickenden> [accessed 19 August 2022].
[25] Robert Landon, 'Collecting and the Antiquarian Book Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 5: 1695-1830*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 711–22 (p. 712).

have the means to allow research and educational access to its books in the way that the British Library or the Bodleian Library can, or to allow digital access to selected gems, as do the Scheide Library, the Morgan Library, or the Library of Congress; this never has been, and should not be, the aim of the National Trust.

Figure 8 Blickling Hall exterior

The National Trust is a conservation charity. It was established in 1907 by the National Trust Act, with the purpose of:

> promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty or historic interest and, as regards lands, for the preservation (so far as is practicable) of their natural aspect, features and animal and plant life. Also the preservation of furniture, pictures and chattels of any description having national and historic or artistic interest.[26]

Beyond ensuring their preservation, the National Trust took little interest in the libraries at the houses it acquired over the course of the twentieth century. Astonishingly, valuations at Blickling in 1947 and 1955 make no mention at all of the books, commenting only on the library furniture and decorative items.[27] A 1976 book *Treasures of the National Trust* hardly

[26] 'The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty - Charity 205846', *Charity Commission for England and Wales* <https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/sector-data/top-10-charities/-/charity-details/205846/governing-document> [accessed 5 May 2022].
[27] 'Valuation, Blickling Hall, 1947', Norfolk, National Trust Head Office; 'Valuation, Blickling Hall, 1955', Norfolk, National Trust Head Office. Uncatalogued estate records.

identifies or describes any of the organization's many thousands of books.[28] The organization did not have curators dedicated to its books until into the late 1990s.[29] Papers in the Blickling archive indicate that the Trust disposed of many of Lord Lothian's modern books, deeming them uninteresting, and even considered removing the Victorian book cases in the library room. Mould, mildew, pests, and water damage are identified in Trust records from the 1980s, with curators and conservators expressing concern over the books' condition and environment.[30]

The National Trust certainly allocated some resources to integration activities, although the work was somewhat aimless in the early years. During World War II the Blickling estate was used by the RAF for training purposes. In that time a Miss O'Sullivan, who had been the private secretary to the 11th Marquis, was employed by the Trust to look after the house and to ensure that the airmen were kept in line, for which she was paid £250 per year. One of her duties was to list the books in the library, and it was understood that she would spend several days a week on the task. Although she tried to argue that a specialist should be employed to produce a proper catalogue, her suggestion was refused and she herself produced a rudimentary catalogue and shelf list. Miss O'Sullivan was in no way a bibliographic specialist, and her records reflect this, providing minimal bibliographic details of the books. She occasionally sought advice and assistance from Heywood Hill Bookshop, or made a comparison with a book lent from the London Library.[31] In her catalogue Miss O'Sullivan assigned a running number to each work in the collection, which was written in pencil on the front pastedown. These running numbers had then to be searched out in the typewritten shelf list in order to find the work's shelf mark. This is obviously a very clunky system, and demonstrates Miss O'Sullivan's amateur abilities. However, it also suggests that she knew the books might be rearranged on the shelves in the future (as indeed many have been), and she was quite forward-thinking in producing a catalogue that would not need to be updated alongside a shelf list that could be more easily altered. Twenty or so years later the cracks in this system began to show. The National Trust's first library adviser, Cecil Clarabut,

---

[28] Robin Fedden and Rosemary Joekes, eds., *Treasures of the National Trust* (London: J. Cape, 1976).
[29] Mark Purcell, 'The National Trust and Its Libraries', *Art Libraries Journal,* 28.2 (2003), 18–21 (p. 18).
[30] These papers are uncatalogued and are available only upon application to the regional curator for the East of England. My thanks to Jane Eade, Tim Pye, and Megan Dennis for assisting me in accessing them.
[31] My appreciation to Mark Purcell, who brought this to my attention.

produced a card catalogue in the hope of more usefully describing the library. This catalogue too, however, provided very minimal bibliographic and copy-specific detail and was ultimately disappointing. It is now kept in storage in an attic room and never consulted.

To this day, library researchers and staff must still rely on Miss O'Sullivan's typescript and even, to an extent, on Mitchell's catalogue in order to explore the library's contents. The slip catalogue has continued to be updated throughout the twentieth century, with notes added next to many of the records. The entry for the 1462 Mainz Bible has next to it a modern pencil note: 'sold 1932'.[32] The inscription is in a small, neat hand that is found frequently throughout the catalogue and in the books, and is likely to be the hand of Cecil Clarabut. It is curious, since the Trust commissioned Miss O'Sullivan very early in its tenure to produce her catalogue and shelflist, that it was still felt necessary to update this old and now-superseded catalogue. This same hand occasionally makes a note next to an entry in either the slip catalogue or the O'Sullivan shelf list, indicating that the library has a duplicate copy of a work and giving the running number. It sometimes also provides further information about the work, such as with the entry for the first Italian translation of Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris*: Mitchell notes that the work contains images and a decorative binding, but the modern pencil note adds that this was 'Grolier's copy'.[33] Mitchell must have realized the book's illustrious provenance from Grolier's classic ownership inscription 'Io. Grolierij Lugdunen[sis] et amicorum,' which is inscribed in black ink below the colophon on leaf 4 and on the rear pastedown, but evidently did not think it to be as significant as the volume's beauty, and not worthy of inclusion in his catalogue entry. For the Trust, however, the association with Grolier was evidently noteworthy and perhaps even a source of pride.

Other details have also been added in modern pencil notes to the original entries in the slip catalogue, such as in the entry for Thomas Boston's *Tractatus stigmologicus, hebraeo-biblicus*, which has the modern note 'dedicated to Ellys'. The original entry makes note of its fine presentation binding ('Cor. Turc. fol. deaur.'), but does not note that the reason for this is that the volume is a dedication copy.[34] The catalogue lists two entries under 'Sueceri (Joh: Casp:)' (i.e. Johann Kaspar Suicer): the first is the published *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus* of

[32] *[Biblia latina]*.
[33] Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Mulieribus Claris*, trans. by Vincentio Bagli (Venice: Per maistro Zuanne de Trino, chimato Tacuino, 1506).
[34] Thomas Boston, *Tractatus stigmologicus, hebræo-biblicus* (Amsterdam: apud J. Wetstenium & G. Smith, 1738).

1728, and the second is the author's manuscript copy of his 'Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Novum', dated 16 November 1672.[35] The modern pencil hand draws an arrow pointing from the first entry to the second, along with the note '?based on Ellys M.S.'. Indeed, as noted above, Ellys's manuscript of the 'Lexicon' was used by the publishers in the preparation of the printed edition and the book was dedicated to Ellys in recognition of this. Again, the National Trust clearly felt this to be an important and noteworthy aspect of the book's history, and one that merited remark. And yet, in contrast to the Thomas Boston work, it is not noted that the published work was dedicated to Ellys. It doesn't seem that the writer of these modern inscriptions took a thorough and systematic approach; rather, it seems that they added small titbits of information to the catalogue as and when they came to light.

While the presentation bindings on dedication copies were noted in many of the original records, there is only one instance in which the modern annotator has added details of a binding. This is to the entry for a book of plates by Robert Greene, on the subjects of the 15 Books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which he produced sometime from 1674-88. The original entry describes the volume as 'a very small & thin fol. in marble paper', but the modern inscription adds '(now ½ blue morocco)', referring to the nineteenth-century half-binding in dark blue goatskin. It is strange that the book of Greene's plates should warrant a note on its rebinding, while many others that were certainly rebound after the slip catalogue was produced were not noted. It is perhaps the stark contrast between a limp paper binding and a blue Morocco binding that merited attention.[36]

While the Trust never undertook a large-scale rebinding project, there was a campaign of repairs and rebinding done in Cambridge in the 1950s, with as many as a hundred books receiving treatment in the middle years of the decade. Most of these, such as John Ray's *A Collection of English Proverbs* and Robert Boyle's *An Essay About the Origine and Virtues of Gems*, have a pencil note on the front pastedown 'Repaired at Cambridge, [year].[37] These

[35] Johann Kaspar Suicer, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus*, Editio secunda, priori emendatior, elegantior&longe auctior (Amsterdam: apud R. & J. Wetstenios & Gul. Smith, 1728); 'Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Novum', 1672, Blickling Hall, no running number.
[36] Robert Greene, *[15 Plates (besides the Title-Page) of the Subjects of the 15 Books of the Metamorphoses, by Robert Greene]*. ([London]: Robert Greene excud., 1674-88).
[37] John Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Cambridge: Printed by John Hayes, printer to the University, for W. Morden, 1670); Robert Boyle, *An Essay about the Origine & Virtues of Gems* (London: printed by William Godbid, and are to be sold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain, 1672).

repairs are often visible in the books, and ranged from small paper repairs to full rebacking, such as on the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, wherein sheets of manuscript and printed waste from the original binding have been bound in at the beginning. No archival documentation about these repairs is to be found, but it is evident that they were done over a discrete period in the 1950s as part of a one-time project. Repairs were not undertaken when the need arose, as can be seen from curatorial notes remarking on ongoing, unmet conservation needs from the later decades of the twentieth century. It is not clear where the money for this one campaign of repairs came from, and why it was made available, and no evidence survives to elucidate how books were chosen and prioritized for repair. But this does clearly demonstrate the Trust's forethought in preserving (some of) Blickling's books. Some further repairs have been made later in the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, but these all seem to have been on a case-by-case basis, with one book at a time being sent for attention to Nicolas Pickwoad, adviser to the National Trust on book conservation since 1978.

There has, unsurprisingly, been minimal acquisition activity undertaken by the Trust, and the Blickling Estate has no policy or budget for expanding its book collection. The one curious exception to this is Strabo's *Geographia Europe primus commentarius,* printed at Rome in 1473.[38] It is a very early work of printing in Rome, and describes the geography of the Roman empire from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. The large margins are heavily annotated by a fifteenth-century Italian reader, who provides the modern equivalents to Strabo's ancient place names and attempts to fix their position. This book was sold in the Lothian sale of 1932 and was bought by Brick Row Bookshop for $425. It came up for sale again in 1990 and was purchased by the National Trust and reinstated in the Blickling collection.[39] Clearly, the Trust saw this as still belonging to the Ellys library at Blickling and thought it a worthwhile investment, despite not having a strong book acquisition policy or even a robust approach to curation or conservation of the library.

---

[38] Strabo, *Geographi Europe Primus Commentarius*, ed. by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, trans. by Guarino ([Rome]: Conrardus suueynheym: Arnoldus pa[n]nartzq[ue] magistri Rome impresserunt talia multa simul, 1473).

[39] 'Item Record: Strabo Geographi', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20%20%20Geographia%20Europe%20primus%20commentarius%20%20%20%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 5 May 2022]; Barker *Treasures,* p. 53.

The Trust has also had to navigate the unavoidable tensions of any heritage organization. The heritage sector is complex and paradoxical; as Steven Hoelscher describes it, heritage is both 'the source of vital economic revenue, and a foundation of personal and collective identity'.[40] The Blickling books, as a large collection outside the institutional confines of a library, embody the inevitable tensions of a heritage institution. They exist at the crossroads of debates in the sector, and exploring their role in this environment sheds light on how the collection functions now and on its likely role in the future. A fundamental question for any organization in possession of items from the past is how to balance the competing requirements of preservation and access. The first National Trust Act of 1907 empowered the organization to preserve land and buildings 'of beauty or historic interest', but from the very beginning the question arose of whether to prioritize preservation of, or public access to, these outdoor spaces.[41] The debate has continued into the present day, and Gerald Cadogan notes the organization's difficult position: 'the Trust must achieve both but preservation comes first, as the founding documents and the Trust's title make clear. Otherwise there is nothing to access. … Access, however, remains a (but not the) prime obligation'.[42]

Although I have throughout this thesis referred to the Blickling books as a library, a moment of consideration confirms that they no longer form a library in its institutional sense. John P. Wilkin identifies four pillars of modern libraries: curation (selection, preservation, maintenance, and provision of access to the cultural record); engagement with research and learning; publishing; and creating and managing spaces for users and collections.[43] While the Trust does engage with curation and the managing of space, its role is not that of a library as there is little formalized provision for other library activities. Throughout the twentieth century the 'library' at Blickling has more often referred to the Long Gallery room than to the actual books. Mark Purcell has pointed out that this is a problem that has 'bedevilled discussion of libraries in country houses for years, and has repeatedly left scholars talking at

[40] Steven Hoelscher, 'Heritage', in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald, Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies, 12 (Malden, Mass. ; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 198–218 (p. 200).
[41] David Cannadine, 'The First Hundred Years', in *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years*, ed. by Howard Newby (London: National Trust, 1995), pp. 11-31 (pp. 14-15).
[42] Gerald Cadogan, 'Buildings', in *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years*, ed. by Howard Newby (London: National Trust, 1995), pp. 117-134 (pp. 126-7).
[43] John P. Wilkin, 'Meanings of the Library Today', in *The Meaning of the Library: A Cultural History*, ed. by Alice Crawford (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 236–53 (p. 237). Although Wilkin's focus is on the present, all four of his pillars relate to the library during Ellys's lifetime.

cross-purposes'.[44] The library's contents are often treated as something of an afterthought, with the Trust assuming that the family never used the books and that no visitor could be interested in learning much about them beyond their number and their financial value. While the distinction between 'books for use and books for show' (to use David Pearson's words) has been shown not to pertain to Ellys's own activities in developing his library, the categories become valuable when examining the afterlife of the collection.[45] Since the books entered the arena of the heritage sector, there has naturally been ambiguity and ambivalence around their purpose as objects for either use or display.

Blickling Hall is more helpfully understood as a museum, whose collections are partly made up of books; visitors pay an admission fee to enter the house and gardens and are provided with interpretive information on signs, in brochures, and from volunteers stationed in each room. Sharon Macdonald sees the role of a museum as 'select[ing] certain cultural products for official safe-keeping, for posterity and public display',[46] but it is the fact that 'museums hold things' that differentiates them from other cultural and educational institutions.[47] There is also a critical distance between a museum object and its viewer, which is lacking in the interaction between a library book and its reader. As Dudley explains:

> Museums are not, it is generally assumed, 'real life' in the sense of the life the objects within them lived before they entered its walls: a ritual libation cup on display in an ethnographic museum is no longer used in the religious ceremonies in which it was once so central. … Hence, it is a commonplace to think of museum objects as not only decontextualised – because of their removal from their original contexts – but also 'dead'.[48]

Museum objects are passive, they are observed: they are artefact objects. A medieval manuscript at the British Library may still be read and touched by a suitably qualified researcher, but a book displayed in a museum, like the Blickling estate, is not reading

---

[44] 'The Country House Library Reassess'd', p. 158.
[45] David Pearson, 'Books for Use and Books for Show', in *Book Ownership in Stuart England: The Lyell Lectures, 2018* (Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 111–37.
[46] Sharon Macdonald, 'Expanding Museum Studies: An Introduction', in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald, Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies, 12 (Malden, Mass. ; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 1-12 (p. 4).
[47] Sandra H. Dudley, 'Introduction: Museums and Things', in *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation : Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-11 (p.1).
[48] ibid., p. 1.

material but rather a silent historical witness. Such books are no longer seen as information carriers and tools of learning, but are instead artefacts for display. This is a relatively new phenomenon; as recently as the nineteenth century, museum visitors were encouraged to politely demonstrate their interest by handling the objects on display.[49] This was certainly the case at Blickling (before its acquisition by the Trust), where visitors did not feel compelled to calmly observe but instead, in the case of T.F. Dibdin, 'revell[ed] and riot[ed]' with the ancient volumes.[50] Nowadays, however, the only encounter a visitor is entitled to is visual as museum objects are to be seen and never touched. While books are a visual medium, their physical arrangement means that their only visible aspect is their spines: it seems that the modern myth that books in the eighteenth century were to be seen and not read is merely a projection of our own incomplete encounters.

There are some examples of the National Trust using its book collections as the basis for entertainment and an enjoyable visitor experience, but very few exhibitions of books seem to have been mounted at Blickling. The library has had various small displays of four or five books put on by the cataloguer in the Long Gallery, but these have always been minor and are often missed by visitors to the house; this is in contrast to many other areas of the Estate, which feature more interactive exhibitions. It is unclear if visitors are genuinely uninterested in the books, or just that there is little for them to be interested *in* and engaged with. They cannot touch, manipulate or read the books, and their visual appeal can be appreciated in a quick overview of the library room. For some visitors, perhaps, the experience would not be enhanced by a close examination of any volumes open for display, but surely other visitors would be delighted at an opportunity to learn more about these historic works. Unfortunately, it seems that the Trust does not have the capacity and resources to provide fuller interpretive material about the books, and instead visitors may only appreciate the library wholescale as an index of the impressive erudition and wealth of its former owners. More frequent in the Long Gallery are displays of artwork by local artists, which make use of the large room and its abundant natural light. The most significant use of the library after it came into the Trust's

[49] Helen Saunderson, '"Do Not Touch": A Discussion on the Problems of a Limited Sensory Experience with Objects in a Gallery or Museum Context', in *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation : Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 159-170 (p. 160).
[50]Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Library Companion: Or, The Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library* (London: Printed for Harding, Triphook, and Lepard : J. Major, 1824), p. 585.

possession involved a 1999 exhibition at the Grolier Club in New York entitled 'Treasures of the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses'. It was accompanied by a large exhibition catalogue written by Nicolas Barker, complete with images of most of the books.[51] A huge proportion of the exhibited books came from Blickling (thirty-four out of the one hundred and twenty-two books, with the runner-up being Ickworth, which contributed nine), including the Haggadah, the beautiful Suetonius manuscript, and even the Blickling Psalter, loaned from the Morgan Library.

The reason for this disconnect between books and viewers is simple: money. The Trust is a charity, with all its income arriving from donations, legacies, and membership dues (members pay on a monthly basis and gain access to all Trust properties without paying admission). As such, it is in a position of constant fundraising and budgeting in order to achieve its mission, endlessly justifying its expenditures and admission fees, and being forced to make decisions about where to deploy its resources. Indeed, the books have often been used in fundraising efforts at Blickling. A recent renovation at the house, which included building works and scaffolding in the Long Gallery, featured considerable signage around the property detailing how the refurbishments would preserve and secure the books for future generations, and soliciting donations from visitors. The basis for this fundraising is that preserving the books is a worthwhile goal in itself (which few would dispute). But it is difficult to discern exactly what the value of the books is to the Trust, and to its members and donors, as the organization is not able (or perhaps not willing) to provide visitors with opportunities to interact with and understand the books. The mindset in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis of 'value for money' requires the Trust to prioritize income-generation over other activities, balancing an acceptable price of admission with what visitors feel they get out of the visitor experience. Issues of commercialism and entertainment have traditionally been seen as mundane, low-brow concerns beneath the notice of museums but they are now one of the fundamental pillars of museology that Sharon MacDonald recognizes.[52] Museums are continually asked to demonstrate their value to the public, and this value is increasingly measured in purely economic terms.[53]

---

[51] Nicolas Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses* (New York: Royal Oak Foundation & The Grolier Club, 1999).
[52] p. 2.
[53] David O'Brien, 'Public Value and Public Policy in Britain: Prospects and Perspectives', in *Museums and Public Value: Creating Sustainable Futures*, ed. by Carol Scott (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 145–58 (p. 145).

This extrinsic (economic) type of value is much more vulnerable to changes in the economic environment than would be an intrinsic value. The Covid-19 lockdown of 2020 meant that the National Trust had to close all of its historic houses, shops, car parks, gardens, and cafés. When it became clear that no government support would be forthcoming, the Trust predicted that, as a result of the lockdown, it would lose up to £200 million in 2020. The organization shifted its focus to procuring funds to continue its environmental work, arguing that access to nature was a priority for members and visitors during lockdown.[54] (It is notable that the Trust did not use the conservation of historic houses as a basis for requesting emergency funds.) In late July of 2020, the Trust began to propose job cuts. 1200 staff members (13% of the Trust's workforce) were told they could face redundancy in an effort to save £100 million.[55] It soon became clear that these job cuts were not solely the result of the pandemic, and that they were instead part of political shifts in the Trust's very purpose. On 21 August 2020, *The Times* reported on a leaked proposal from the National Trust Visitor Experience Department, entitled 'Towards a Ten Year Vision for Places and Experiences', which described the historic houses as 'outdated', and only serving a 'niche audience'. The report suggested abolishing the top tier of specialists in areas such as textiles, furniture, and libraries and repurposing historic properties as venues for hire for weddings and other events. This was part of the Trust's stated aim in the Ten Year Vision to 'dial down' its role as a 'major cultural institution'. Hilary McGrady, director general of the National Trust, speaking to BBC Radio 4's Today programme, denied that the Trust would be 'dumbed down' but insisted the charity had no choice but to lay off staff and change tactics in the face of huge income losses, and that the organization's new role was as a 'gateway to the outdoors'.[56] It was hard not to see these proposed changes as disastrous for those in the academic community with research interests in the Trust's collections. Writing in *The Art Newspaper*, Bendor Grosvenor called the job cuts and the proposed repurposing of historic houses 'one of the most damaging assaults ever seen on the UK's art historical expertise'.[57] Under this plan, the most impressive

[54] 'Coronavirus: National Trust "Faces £200m Losses This Year"', *BBC News*, 1 May 2020 <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-52510154> [accessed 4 November 2021].
[55] 'Coronavirus: National Trust Redundancy Plan Puts 1,200 Jobs at Risk', *BBC News*, 29 July 2020 <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-53585007> [accessed 5 November 2021].
[56] 'Coronavirus: National Trust Boss Denies Expert Job Cuts Would "dumb down" Charity', *BBC News*, 22 August 2020 <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53874268> [accessed 5 November 2021].
[57] Bendor Grosvenor, 'National Trust Restructuring Plans Are "One of the Most Damaging Assaults on Art Historical Expertise Ever Seen in the UK"', *The Art Newspaper - International Art News and Events*, 21 August 2020

twenty-eight houses, including Blickling Hall, would be classified as 'treasure houses', and would notice little change to their operations and visitor experiences. But smaller and apparently less significant properties would see drastic alterations, with shorter opening hours, fewer staff, and collection objects being removed to make spaces more flexible for commercial purposes; presumably, their artefacts would be securely stored away from the dangers posed by intoxicated wedding guests.

It is clear that there are downsides to the books being held by the National Trust in a museum environment, and some of these are becoming more noticeable as the organization reduces its specialist staff. The project to catalogue the Blickling books (active since 2010) has been put on hold due to the loss of the property's librarian in early 2021; it is not clear if the role will be filled or made redundant. While the estate employs several conservators among its staff, none is a specialist in books, paper, or parchment; instead, a regular team of volunteers spends several hours a week dusting the books with brushes and smoke sponges and assessing their condition. While on the whole this must be beneficial, the volunteers are not professionally trained and, as noted in the previous chapter, have sometimes moved or removed bookmarks, slips or sheets. This is understandable, but the reliance on volunteers to do this specialized work is indicative of the strain on the Trust's resources and how the organization has had to prioritize the competing demands of its vast collections.

Another downside to the National Trust's guardianship of the books is their relative inaccessibility to scholars. Researchers at Blickling library have been few for such a large and significant collection. The house is simply not set up to meet the needs of visiting researchers, and no formal provisions for researchers have ever been put in place. The level of access available to a visiting scholar instead depends on staff availability and willingness, and is often hampered by events and art installations in the Long Gallery. Since the Long Gallery is part of the visitor route, the property managers prefer that the book cases only be unlocked and opened before and after visiting hours in order to ensure the security of the collections. During the day, staff prefer for books to be consulted in the cataloguer's office, which is far from the Long Gallery, and so books must be constantly and carefully carried back and forth between the two. When the estate librarian was available, a desk could be set

<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2020/08/21/national-trust-restructuring-plans-are-one-of-the-most-damaging-assaults-on-art-historical-expertise-ever-seen-in-the-uk> [accessed 6 May 2022].

up in the Long Gallery so that a researcher could have easier access to the books; this unfortunately also entailed that visitors could have easier access to the researcher, and created a difficult environment for study. In a way this is understandable, as academic research on its collections is simply not the Trust's chief priority. And yet it is frustrating that the house's spectacular book collection has, for too long, been neglected in academic circles due to these access challenges. A contributor to the 1995 book *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years* noted that the organization could and should do more to facilitate research by Trust staff and external scholars.[58] Mark Purcell notes that 'at least as far as the top drawer of bibliophiles went, the approach to books in country houses could be more scholarly and sophisticated than it has been since they passed into the hands of organizations like the National Trust'.[59]

There is a correlative benefit to this scholarly neglect: the books have been so little used that they are generally well-preserved and are able to bear direct witness to Ellys himself and their owners before him. Despite the expected and inevitable damage of time and environment, the lack of intensive reading and use has meant that the books are mostly in their original condition and have not been faced with the interference visited upon most large institutional collections. The more recent past has seen a change in the Trust's approach to research on its collections, with a greater focus on accessibility to their extensive and exquisite artefacts. The twenty-first century has seen greater attempts to encourage academic investigation of Trust properties and collections, and in 2022 there are nine doctoral positions advertised by the Trust in collaboration with several UK universities. Four relate to artefacts and former owners of Trust estates, while the others are in the fields of engineering, environmental science, and land management.[60] This extends also to the books. A full-time cataloguer was employed at Blickling in 2010 to produce modern records to AACR2 standard for the whole library; libraries at other Trust properties are also in the process of being catalogued. These records are regularly uploaded to Jisc Library Hub Discover (formerly copac), a union catalogue of 181 academic, national and specialist libraries in the United Kingdom and

[58] Cadogan, p. 129.
[59] Purcell, 'The Country House Library Reassess'd', p. 163.
[60] 'PhD Opportunities with the National Trust', *National Trust* <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/phd-opportunities-with-the-national-trust> [accessed 6 May 2022].

Ireland.[61] The records include extensive copy-specific information, including notes on provenance, binding, annotation, condition, etc. Researchers the world over can now explore the books from Ellys's collection; the 8th Marquis's dream of producing a published catalogue for the use of all scholars has been realized. When the cataloguing project is complete, this will be an invaluable resource for scholars of library history; it will also ensure security and continuing preservation of the collection. The value of the books for academic research is far clearer than their value as exhibition objects. The collection is of obvious significance to the study of private libraries, historical printing, book collecting, and Early Modern Continental Protestantism, and by making it more accessible to researchers the Trust has ensured that it can contribute to developments in these fields.

For visitors, donors, and Trust members, however, the value of the books is less clear, and the Trust has not satisfactorily demonstrated it. The chances of people in these groups ever reading the books, or even learning very much about them, are vanishingly small; they serve a very limited informational purpose and their value seems to be mainly as vaguely appreciated antique objects. The modest outrage at the loss of expertise in the Trust has died down, and the books have returned to relative obscurity. But clearly the book collection serves *some* purpose at Blickling, and there has never been any suggestion that the books should be removed in order to allow more space to display other collection items.[62] This seems contradictory, and yet is not irreconcilable; as Purcell argues, 'it is terribly important to think of old libraries not just as quarries of information, but as museums of books'.[63] The National Trust's recent efforts to facilitate research on their books may, in time, ensure that they can be used as 'quarries of information', but it is when they are seen as 'museums of books' that their true value becomes most visible. The Blickling collection as a single artefact, as a museum collection, is part of the national cultural heritage that the Trust is dedicated to preserving.

Much of the concern around the National Trust staffing cuts centred on anxiety over the neglect and even erasure of this history of British culture. It is certainly true that the original

[61] 'Jisc Library Hub Discover' <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/> [accessed 6 May 2022].
[62] This is not entirely true. During one of my research trips to Blickling, I overheard a visitor to the Long Gallery room explaining to his companion that the National Trust was wasting money on preserving these dusty old books, and that they would be much better to simply digitise them and discard the useless volumes: efficiency!
[63] 'The National Trust and Its Libraries', p. 20.

purpose of the Trust was a nationalistic agenda: although its early realm was the natural rather than the manmade, preserving the 'national heritage' and the 'essence of Englishness' was always the organization's goal.[64] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes heritage as 'a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past', which Hoelscher calls 'a specific way of interpreting and utilizing bygone times that links individuals with a larger collective'.[65] The goal of the heritage sector, although not overt, must always be to instill a sense of national and cultural identity. The product for the viewer is not knowledge or enlightenment but an intangible feeling. As Fladmark notes, 'collections of material culture seem always to have played an important part in conveying identity'; much as Ellys's library was tied to his sense of personal identity, for a visitor the Blickling collection is tied to a sense of shared cultural identity.[66] This cultural identity is an overt goal of heritage organizations like museums and libraries. Wilkin explains that 'the core function of libraries is to do more than preserve the cultural record: it is also to provide access to and ensure use of that record and, increasingly, to be involved in the creation of the cultural record as well'.[67] The same is indisputably true of non-library institutions like the National Trust, which uses methods such as exhibitions and re-enactments to produce and portray this cultural record. Even non-museum organizations play a role in cultural storytelling; rotating temporary exhibitions at the Bodleian Library or Cambridge University Library employ textual collections to reveal history. The British Library's permanent 'Treasures of the British Library' exhibition is not solely intended to reveal the history of writing and print, but instead uses these media as representatives of broader history.

A kind of parallel has emerged with a certain type of eighteenth-century collector, entranced by rarities and ensnared by curiosities, for whom the fulfilling aspect of collecting was in the display of all his objects together. For them, as now for the National Trust, the value of books is most apparent when they are viewed *en masse*. In contrast, though, Blickling's library was not created with the intention of becoming a museum; the books have, for centuries, interacted organically with each other and with their surroundings. But even if the Blickling books are never to be opened again, and their contents never to be read or even seen, they are

[64] Cannadine, p. 14.
[65] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 7; Hoelscher, p. 200.
[66] J. M. Fladmark, ed., *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity*, (Shaftesbury: Donhead, 2000), p. xiii.
[67] Wilkin, p. 236

meaningful when interpreted as a group. When taken together, the 12,000-odd books bear witness to the intellectual, social, cultural, and domestic history of the country. It seems trite to say that the books are part of the Blickling estate because that is where they have been for two centuries, and yet it is true. Their value to heritage is not undermined by their becoming museum objects, nor should it be seen as necessarily negative that the once-organic and disparate collection has become a single fossil from the past. The (albeit small) role of this collection in the cultural history of Britain is valuable, and is visible only in the books as a group. The alternative scenario, with Ellys's book collection being subsumed into a larger library, would have had some concrete and undeniable advantages. And yet the reality, that these books are now held in a museum, has also been beneficial. For nearly a century the National Trust has preserved and stewarded this collection, which should certainly be commended. The organization has indisputably succeeded in their mission to 'promote the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation' of these items of historic and cultural interest, whether or not this aligns with the interests of the academic community.[68]

Conclusion: Futurelife

The afterlife of this collection feels dead, but that isn't the case. The library is in the final stage of its life cycle and is likely to remain there. But research on this library, and others like it, is far from finished or stagnant. This could perhaps be seen as another stage in the book life cycle: futurelife. My method for studying this private library, along with the research I have presented here about Ellys and his books, will contribute to ensuring that the futurelives of private libraries are full and meaningful, with further research revealing the complex and nuanced social histories of other historic libraries. All four phases together contribute to our understanding of the history of this library. The first conclusion we can draw from looking at the four stages in the life cycle of this library is that it *is* clearly possible to examine a library in detail without direct access to the collector's thoughts and intentions through the window of documentary evidence. Of course, we know that book collections or private libraries do not spring up on their own; there must be one or more human agents involved. These people leave behind tangible evidence of the behaviours and activities relating to the library, and it is this evidence that is of interest to researchers.

[68] 'The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty - Charity 205846'.

Following a single item through its life cycle allows us to see the different behaviours that occur (or are conspicuously absent) at each stage. When looking at Ellys's copy of the catalogue of the Harvard Library, for instance, it is possible to discern its position as part of the social history of this library. The book was likely acquired as a gift, given by Henry Newman. Not having been selected for purchase by Ellys himself, the book perhaps does not reflect his own interests as strongly as some others. Instead, however, it is the manifestation of an interpersonal relationship – one which was based on possession and transfer of material items, as Newman wished to secure the donation of Ellys's books for the Harvard library. It represents also the complementary religious identities of these men, as well as their common interest in providing a benefit to some population through education and scholarship.

After its arrival to the library, the catalogue entered its integration phase and was duly listed by Mitchell in the library catalogue. This ensured it could be reliably located on the shelves, established its position as a permanent possession of Ellys, and reflected his interest and expertise in book collections by appearing in Mitchell's catalogue alongside all Ellys's other catalogues. Mitchell's M code, added on the title page, signified that the work was checked and catalogued, and proves to us that it passed through his own hands. Integration activities, or the lack thereof, can suggest the owner's attitude towards an item; the Harvard catalogue was never bound and remains in its original soft paper covers, which strongly suggests that it was never intended for display or for intensive reading. Although the now dirty and tattered covers would suggest heavy use, the contrast between this unbound item and the majority of Ellys's books in hard covers suggests it was always seen as a piece of ephemera.

The lack of use of this volume suggests that Ellys was not particularly taken with Newman's gift. The pages were never cut open to allow perusal or consultation. Its use instead seems to have been as a representation of a possible destination for the library. Much as this possible afterlife for the library was never realized, the afterlife of this book is similarly undistinguished. It is not one of the books chosen to be sold in 1932, and it never re-entered its use phase. The catalogue is still on the shelves at Blickling, and is now kept in a bespoke box to protect its fragile paper covers. This is preservation for preservation's sake; the pages will never be cut open to be read, and the catalogue has no use as an item of display as it is not visible in the box. No conservation work has been undertaken to mend its extremely fragile and crumbling leaves. The Jisc Library Hub Discover record for the Blickling copy is

an empty stub; the previous cataloguer did not reach this item before leaving his position at Blickling.

It is clear that this book is not one of the chosen few deemed special enough to be selected for sale in 1932; it is not illustriously provenanced, elaborately decorated, notably rare, or even of interest beyond a niche group. Instead, though, books like these contribute to our understanding of social history because of their membership in a group. It is what this book tells us *in its context*, or as part of a group of books, that is important. It is clear that this book interacted with people and books in different ways over the course of its life time: this is its role in the social history of the Blickling library.

The social history of this library is obviously complicated: enough so to warrant an entire doctoral thesis. But there are three major themes that emerge, which connect to the broader social, cultural, and intellectual history of the early eighteenth century and all warrant further research. The first of these involves Ellys's navigation of the nascent 'information society'.[69] Another theme, which may seem to stand in contrast to this, is the library's role in the production of a public persona. I have shown that these seemingly conflicting aspects of the library should not, in fact, be seen as disharmonious; they seem to function as two separate, but not competing, lenses of value. The third major thread of the library's social history is the multiplicity of other types of value visible across all four stages.

Alistair Black identifies the Enlightenment as the birth of the 'information society' or 'knowledge society', and the library shows evidence of Ellys and Mitchell navigating this new environment.[70] The period's rapid advances led to a need to manage newly-emerging information, and it is clear how Ellys and Mitchell negotiated this through their development and management of the library. The acquisition phase featured activities such as browsing journals or catalogues for available and recently published books. Perusing book lists developed by trusted scholars, or the library catalogues of known collectors, also allowed Ellys to select and acquire the correct books to add to his collection. Navigating this increasingly complicated information society also played out in the books' integration phase, particularly in Mitchell's cataloguing system. By entering bibliographic details in his catalogue on an ongoing basis, he ensured that the library's contents were accurately

[69] Alistair Black, 'Information and Modernity : The History of Information and the Eclipse of Library History', *Library History*, 14 (1998), 39–45 (p. 41).
[70] ibid.

reflected; the paucity of copy-specific details suggests that his priority with the catalogue was to represent *contents* rather than appearance in Ellys's collection. The catalogue's many cross references enhanced the usefulness of the bibliographic entries by connecting a researcher with other easily-confused or closely related works. Although he left behind little evidence of it, it is clear that Ellys must have used his books as reading material, consulting them to access the information they contained. The books carefully chosen in the acquisition phase allowed him to undertake his own research in Biblical history, but also supported the research needs of his scholarly associates. Whether through lending items to friends, allowing access to the library in his home, or answering queries sent to him, Ellys (and, perhaps more so, Mitchell) ensured that his social network was also able to access accurate, recent, and appropriate information amidst the chaos of all available knowledge. Newman described Ellys's concern that his library should be left to the public after his death; it is clear that he did not mean this to be a financial gift but a scholarly one. Black points to this period as seeing a new interpretation of knowledge as an entity, and the concerns expressed over the library's fate, and consequentially over who would benefit from receiving and possessing it, strongly support this material understanding of information. It seems that, as of 1741, Ellys had made no plans more specific than that his books should be left to a Dissenting institution for the use of clergy and scholars sympathetic to his own religious convictions. Despite this vagueness, it is clear that the library's destination was very much on his mind.

Alongside this theme of navigating information, a major theme in the social history of this library is the production and structuring of identity, and the presentation of persona. This is visible in the acquisition stage, in Ellys's interest in acquiring artefact works such as the *Cabinet du Roi* volumes. Not bought for their contents, books like these instead confirmed Ellys as a man of financial means, who could afford these expensive volumes. Ellys's social behaviour during the acquisition phase also marked him as a man of importance: his receipt of presentation copies from scholars he supported, as well as the bestowal of gifts from illustrious figures like the French King, are evidence of his important position in society. The integration phase served to associate books strongly with their owner. The very detailed slip catalogue, designed and produced according to Ellys's own needs, serves to reinforce his personal erudition. Although Ellys did not indulge himself in fantastically opulent bindings, he certainly did not choose the cheapest and most banal. Whether through his own choice, or a binder's decision, the books bound by him portray a man of taste and means. Ellys never had a catalogue of his library published, which would seem to belie the importance of

displaying his status through his library. Nevertheless, it is crucial to bear in mind that whatever his private *intentions* were, the result of his integration behaviour was to associate this splendid collection with himself and thus portray his economic and academic status. Much of Ellys's use behaviour (beyond reading) served to shape and publicly present his position as a man of status and capital. His reputation as a benevolent supporter of scholarship is clear from correspondence, as well as in his donation of Picard's magnificent work to the Spalding Gentlemen's Society. Both actions functioned to solidify social bonds with other men of status. The use of books as objects of display was a clear and intentional demonstration of Ellys's social status; for example, the Haggadah manuscript described in the catalogue as being 'in a case' impressed upon library visitors Ellys's ability to afford, obtain, and appreciate such a splendid object. After Ellys died, the library continued to signal the social position of its inheritors. The generations of Hobarts and Kerrs who owned it were well aware of the rarity and significance of many of their books, and the 11th Marquis of Lothian was able to convert this social capital into financial capital in the 1932 New York sale. The afterlife of this library is, by virtue of its location at Blickling, less strongly associated with its original owner than is the case with many historic collections. Unlike Samuel Pepys, Sir Hans Sloane, or Edward Harley, whose libraries are still intact and are known by their collectors' names, Ellys's collection is more strongly associated with the National Trust estate at Blickling. Had it achieved the afterlife Ellys that envisioned for it, the library would likely have held a longer and stronger relationship with him. Instead, it now confers its status onto the Blickling estate, the last private family that lived there, and the National Trust as a public institution.

A last theme of the social history of this library involves the multiple realms of value that appear. Different types of value are predominant in certain books, and at certain stages of the life cycle, but all books are shown to have been valued in multiple ways: financially, socially, historically, and academically. In the acquisition phase, of course, financial value is a prominent concern. Some of Ellys's books were obviously very expensive, due to their rarity, their decoration, or their historical significance. Others, however, were much cheaper; these books, while probably not representing a desire to be thrifty (Ellys being very well-off), suggest an attention to a type of value not reflected in an extortionate price. These books, including many of those bought from the sales of Thomas Rawlinson's library, made up the bulk of the library's middling range and represent an interest in their contents. Whether the intention was ever to read them, and whether or not they were ever opened, these books were

felt to be the ‘right’ sort of material for a gentleman’s private library. Yet other books were valued as notable specimens, embodying an academic and historical value, or as collectible artefacts, valued for their beauty or the status they conferred. The integration phase features fewer transaction-based behaviours, and yet it is still possible to discern multiple levels of value. The activities of this stage facilitate and enhance the academic value of the books, by ensuring that the library was fully and accurately represented in Mitchell’s catalogue, with access points and cross-references allowing simple navigation. The integration process served to strongly tie the books to each other and to their owner, and thus turned them into a form of objectified cultural capital. They came to embody Ellys’s taste, financial means, and ability to understand his books. The use phase has clear evidence of the value of these books as information carriers. Reading allowed Ellys, Mitchell, and others to access their contents and acquire the knowledge they held. The books additionally held a social value at this stage, being used as networking tools. By responding to queries from acquaintances, Ellys and Mitchell were able to convert this informational capital into social capital. The library’s afterlife marked a re-emergence of the financial value visible in the acquisition stage, as a selection of the books were chosen to be sold and, as their other types of value were transformed into economic capital, to pay off familial debts. However, the sale represents a different type of value to the buyers. In the auction catalogue, De Ricci and the other authors emphasize the value of the offered books as artefact items (exclusive, rare, beautiful, and expensive) with this type of value employed as an incentive for bidders. Some of these books sold at auction are now immensely valued as historical documents; the two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts held by American libraries are much-cited in scholarship, and the online availability of the Homilies manuscript and the 1462 Mainz Bible further demonstrates their importance to researchers. And yet, despite their greater accessibility, the books sold at the 1932 Lothian sale have lost much of what makes the library unique among historic private collections. They are now divorced from the context of their collector and the other books of his library. They have become independent, isolated objects rather than parts of an integrated whole. As for the rest of the books, developments within the National Trust have revealed an ongoing debate around the role of the organization (and indeed the broader heritage sector) in producing and portraying the story of national cultural history, and its role in the national heritage is, today, the collection’s greatest value. This places them in an uncomfortable position, with their value based more on display *en masse* than on their individual usefulness as reading material. Even for museum objects, the Trust’s collections are somewhat unusual

in their increasing deployment to meet the organization's goals of entertainment and visitor experience, rather than as objects of scholarly curiosity and academic research.

But even if the book collection at Blickling is only able to make a small contribution to historical research, the implications of my thesis, and of the method here developed, are far-reaching. Ultimately, it is clear that books have life cycles that can be divided into four phases based on associated sets of human behaviours. Book collections do not form themselves, and do not spring up from nowhere. They are created, managed, and used by human agents. Looking at all these multiple aspects of book collecting behaviour (more than just buying, or cataloguing, or reading, which are often studied alone) allows a nuanced view of the social history of the library, with an emphasis on diversity and variety of experience between books over time and in time. The development of a private library is an aspect of the cultural record, and is therefore innately intertwined with the concerns and circumstances of its historic period. Future scholars will be able to employ the AIUA method of examining a collected book's life cycle through the lens of the behaviours associated with its four phases. There is much to be studied in book collecting that may be revealed through such a holistic approach, and by examining the social history of individual libraries scholars may shed further light on the wider concerns and circumstances of society. Extant evidence of a book collector's behaviour thus serves as the "more tangible" realm of material culture in which can be visualized the "less tangible" realm of history.[71]

[71] Daniel Miller, 'Materiality: An Introduction', in *Materiality*, ed. by Daniel Miller (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1–50 (p. 6).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Achery, Luc d', ed., *Spicilegium, sive, Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliæ bibliothecis delituerant*, nova editio priori accuratior… (Paris: Apud Montalant, 1723)

Addison, Joseph, 'Tom Folio', *The Tatler*, 158, 1710, 150–53

———, 'The Will of a Virtuoso', *The Tatler*, 216, 1710, 28–29

Aelian, *Varia historia*, ed. by Abraham Gronovius (Leiden: Apud S. Luchtmans & J. A. Langerak, 1731)

Agustín, Antonio, and Fulvio Orsini, *Fragmenta Historicorum … Caesarem. Liuium. Velleium. Ad Tacitum. Suetonium. Spartianum. & Alios.* (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam, & Ioannem Moretum., 1595)

Aleandro, Girolamo, *Gnomologia Index Eorum Quæ in Hoc Volumine...* (Paris: Apud M. Bolsecum, 1512)

'Alice Wickenden', *The British Library* (The British Library) <https://www.bl.uk/case-studies/alice-wickenden> [accessed 19 August 2022]

Anacreon, *Tiou mele [Teij Odae]*, trans. by Henri Estienne (Paris: Apud Henricum Stephanum, 1554)

Anacreon, *Editio Altera Cum Novis Versionibus, Scholiis, et Notis.*, ed. by Michael Maittaire (London: Excudebat Gulielmus Bowyer, 1740)

Antiqui Rhetores Latini (Paris: Ex officina Plantiniana: apud Hadrianum Perier, 1599)

Apostolius, Michael, *Tou Bizantiou Paroimiai [Bisantii Paroemiae]* (Basel: Ex officina Heruagiana, 1538)

Apuleius, *Opera* ([Vicenza]: Impraessa per Henricum de Sancto Vrso in Vicentia., 1488)

Arbuthnot, John, *Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures Explain'd and Exemplify'd in Several Dissertations* (London: Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand, 1727)

Aristophanes, *Kōmōdiai Ennea [Comoediae Novem]* (Florence: Per hæredes Philippi Iuntæ, 1525)

Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oneirocritica. Astrampsychi & Nicephori versus Etiam Oneirocritici* (Paris: apud Marcum Orry, via Iacobæa, ad insigne Leonis salientis, 1603)

Auld Lawes and Constitutions of Scotland, Faithfullie Collected Furth of the Register, and Other Auld Authentick Bukes, Fra the Dayes of King Malcolme the Second, Vntill the Time of King James the First, of Gude Memorie (Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Finlason, 1609)

Bacon, Francis, 'L. Of Studies', in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary by Michael Kiernan.* (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 152–54

Bacon, Nathaniel, *An Historicall Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England: The First Part, From the First Times till the Reigne of Edvvard the Third* (London: Printed for Mathew Walbancke at Grayes-Inne-Gate, 1647)

Baïf, Lazare de, *Annotationes in L. II. De Captiuis, & Postliminio Reuersis, in Quibus Tractatur de Re Nauali* (Paris: ex officina Roberti Stephani, typographi regii, 1549)

Bale, John, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum a Dispersione Discipulorum Christi, Us[Que] Ad Tempora Pauli Quarti Qui Nunc in Ecclesia Tyrannizat* (Frankfurt am Main: Ex officina Petri Brubachij, 1567)

Ballard, Thomas, *Bibliotheca Antonij Collins, Arm. or, A Complete Catalogue of the Library of Antony Collins, Esq; Deceas'd, Containing a Collection of Several Thousand Volumes...* (London: s.n., 1731)

Barker, Edmund Henry, 'Letters to Revd Joseph Churchill of Blickling, with Draft Replies, 1819-1828', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/320

Barre, Jean de la, *Continuation de l'histoire universelle de Messire Jacques Benigne Bossuet Evêque de Meaux: depuis l'an 800. de nôtre seigneur, jusqu'à l'an 1700* (Amsterdam: Aux depens d'Estienne Roger, marchand libraire, & se vend à Londres chez François & Paul Vaillant, libraires dans le Strand où l'on trouve un assortiment general de toute sorte de musique, 1704)

Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatib[us] Re[rum]* ([Westminster]: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496)

Bèze, Théodore de, *Histoire ecclesiastiqve des églises reformées av royavme de France: en laquelle est descrite au vray la renaissance & accroissement d'icelles depuis l'an M. D. XXI. iusques en l'année M. D. LXIII* (Anvers [i.e. Geneva]: De l'Imprimerie de Iean Remy, 1580)

'[Bible. ca. 1250].' ([Germany?], [mid-13th century]), Blickling Hall, Running number 6855

Biblia Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina Nomina Virorum, Mulierum, Populorum, Idolorum, Urbium, Fluviorum, Montium, Caeterorúmque Locorum Quae in Bibliis Leguntur, Restituta, Cum Latina Interpretatione... (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, 1540)

[Biblia latina] (Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 1462)

Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae Editionis, Sixti V. Pont. Max. Authoritate Recognita Nunc Verò Iussu Cleri Gallicani Denuò Edita. (Paris: Excudebat Antonius Vitré, regis, & cleri Gallicani, typographus, 1651)

'[Bibliotheca Auctorum Universalis]', Blickling Hall, no running number. Manuscript catalogue in an unknown hand, with additions in the hand of John Mitchell.

Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana ou catalogue de Lla bibliothèque de Feu Monsieur George Guillaume Baron de Hohendorf... (The Hague: Chez Abraham de Hondt, 1720)

Bibliothecae Quam Vir Doctus, & Admodum Reverendus, Daniel Williams, S.T.P. Bono Publico Legavit, Catalogus. (London: typis Jacobi Bettenham, 1727)

Bibliotheque Choisie de M. Colomiés, nouvelle Edition (Paris: Chez Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, rue S. Jacques, vis-a-vis S. Yves, a S. Thomas d'Aquin, 1731)

Bindon, David, *Some Thoughts on the Woollen Manufactures of England in a Letter from a Clothier to a Member of Parliament* (London: printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1731)

Birch, Thomas, 'Memoirs', London, British Library, Add. MS 4241

Blackmore, Richard, *A Treatise of Consumptions and Other Distempers Belonging to the Breast and Lungs* (London: printed for John Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun, over against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet, 1724)

———, *A Treatise of Consumptions and Other Distempers Belonging to the Breast and Lungs*, the second edition, corrected (London: Printed for John Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun, over against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleetstreet, 1725)

Blades, William, 'Letter to Constance, Lady Lothian, 1872', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/852/1-4

Blaeu, Joan, *Novum ac magnum theatrum urbium Belgicae regiae* (Amsterdam: I. Blaeu, 1649)

'[Blickling Homilies]' (England, ca. 1100), Princeton, William H. Scheide Library, MS 30.2

'[Blickling Psalter]' (Northern Northumbria, 730), New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS 776

Blount, Charles, *The Miscellaneous Works ... to Which Is Prefixed the Life of the Author, and an Account and Vindication of His Death : With the Contents of the Whole Volume* ([London]: s.n., 1695)

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *De Mulieribus Claris*, trans. by Vincentio Bagli (Venice: Per maistro Zuanne de Trino, chimato Tacuino, 1506)

Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle: première partie, depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à l'empire de Charlemagne*, 10. éd. (Amsterdam: Aux dépens d'É. Roger, 1704)

Boston, Thomas, *Tractatus stigmologicus, hebræo-biblicus: Quo accentuum hebræorum doctrina traditur variusque eorum, in explananda S. Scriptura, usus exponitur* (Amsterdam: apud J. Wetstenium & G. Smith, 1738)

Bougeant, Guillaume-Hyacinthe, *Histoire des guerres et des négociations qui précédèrent le traité de Vestphalie* (Paris: Chez Jean Mariette, rue S. Jacques, aux Colonnes d'Hercules, 1727)

Boyle, Robert, *A Discourse of Things above Reason, Inquiring Whether a Philosopher Should Admit There Are Any Such... To Which Are Annexed by the Publisher (for the Affinity of the Subjects) Some Advices about Judging of Things Said to Transcend Reason* (London: printed by E.T. and R.H. for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion in S. Paul's Church-Yard, 1681)

———, *An Essay about the Origine & Virtues of Gems Wherein Are Propos'd and Historically Illustrated Some Conjectures about the Consistence of the Matter of Precious Stones, and the Subjects Wherein Their Chiefest Virtues Reside* (London: printed by William Godbid, and are to be sold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain, 1672)

———, *Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect Owes to God, Peculiarly for His Wisedom and Power* (London: Printed by M.F. for Richard Davis, bookseller in Oxford, 1685)

Buonarruoti, Filippo, *Osservazioni Sopra Alcuni Frammenti Di Vasi Antichi Di Vetro Ornati Di Figure Trovati Ne' Cimiteri Di Roma* (Florence: Nella stamperia di S.A.R. Per Jacopo Guiducci, e Santi Franchi, 1716)

Butler, Samuel, *Hudibras: Written in the Time of the Late Wars Corrected and Amended, With Several Additions and Annotations, Adorn'd with Cuts* (London: printed for John Baker, at the Black-Boy in Pater-noster-Row, 1709-10)

———, *Hudibras: Written in the Time of the Late Wars, Corrected and Amended: With Additions, To Which Is Added, Annotations, with an Exact Index to the Whole. Adorn'd with a New Set of Cuts, Design'd and Engrav'd by Mr. Hogarth* (London: printed for D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. and J. Pemberton, R. Robinson, R. Ware, 1739), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0114477631/ECCO?sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=3fda72a3&pg=200> [accessed 3 May 2022]

Caille, Jean de la, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie, où l'on voit son origine & son progrés [sic], jusqu'en 1689: divisée en deux livres* (Paris: Chez Jean de La Caille, ruë Saint Jacques, à la Prudence, 1689)

———, *The History of the Art of Printing: Containing an Account of Its Invention and Progress in Europe: With the Names of the Famous Printers, the Places of Their*

Birth, and the Works Printed by Them. And a Preface by the Publisher to the Printers in Scotland., trans. by James Watson (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Watson, sold at his shop and at the shops of David Scot, and George Stewart, 1713)

Calamy, Edmund, *The Principles and Practice of Moderate Nonconformists with Respect to Ordination, Exemplify'd* (London: printed for John Clark, 1717)

Camden, William, *Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, the Inhabitants Thereof, Their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise Speeches, Poësies, and Epitaphes* (London: Printed by G[eorge] E[ld] for Simon Waterson, 1605)

Casaubon, Isaac, *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira Libri Duo...* (Paris: Apud Ambrosium & Hieronymum Drouart, via Jacobaea, sub scuto solaris aurei., 1605)

Casley, David, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library: An Appendix to the Catalogue of the Cottonian Library Together with an Account of Books Burnt or Damaged by a Late Fire...* (London: printed for the author, and sold by him at the said libraries, now in the old dormitory of Westminster school; and also by Robert Gosling, at the Mitre and Crown in Fleet-Street; and John Brindley, at the King's-Arms in New Bond-Street, 1734)

'Catalogue from Nocton', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/1

'Catalogue of Pamphlets given by Sir Richard Ellys (? 1688-1742) to Sir John Gouson', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/840

'[Catalogue of the Library of Sir Richard Ellys]', ca.1730?-1742, Blickling Hall, no running number.

Catalogus Codicum MSSCtorum Bibliothecae Paulinae in Academia Lipsiensi (Leipzig: Sumtibus Joh. Frid. Gleditsch, 1686)

Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ (Paris: e Typographia regia., 1739)

Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini Quod Est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia (Boston: Typis B. Green, academiae typographi., 1723)

Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Raphaelis Tricheti Du Fresne (Paris: Apud viduam & haeredes, Ruë du Mail, 1662)

Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde: representées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard: avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses (Amsterdam: Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, 1723-43)

Cheyne, George, *Philosophical Principles of Religion Natural and Revealed: In Two Parts* (London: Printed for George Strahan at the Golden-Ball in Cornhil, over against the Royal-Exchange, 1715)

Cheynell, Francis, *An Account given to the Parliament by the Ministers Sent by Them to Oxford…* (London: printed by M[iles] F[letcher] for Samuel Gellibrand at the Brasen-Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1647)

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Académiques: avec le texte Latin de l'édition de Cambrige, & des remarques nouvelles, outre les conjectures de Davies, & de Mons. Bentley, et Le commentaire Pphilosophique de Pierre Valentia, Juris. Espagnol. par un des membres de La S. R.*, trans. by David Durand (London: Chez Paul Vaillant, dans le Strand, vis à vis de Southampton-Street, 1740)

———, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum Libri Quinque Et Paradoxōn Liber Unus* (Cambridge: Typis academicis, 1718)

———, *Opera: Cum delectu commentariorum* (Paris: apud Joan. Bapt. Coignard, Hipp. Lud. Guerin, Joan. Desaint, & Jac. Guerin, et Londini, apud Paulum Vaillant, 1740-42)

Claude, Jean, *An Historical Defence of the Reformation in Answer to a Book Intituled, Just-Prejudices against the Calvinists* (London: Printed by G[eorge]. L[arkin]. for John Hancock, at the Three Bibles over-against the Royal Exchange in Cornhil; and Benj. Alsop, at the Angel and Bible in the Poultrey, 1683)

'Coronavirus: National Trust Boss Denies Expert Job Cuts Would "dumb down" Charity', *BBC News*, 22 August 2020 <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-53874268> [accessed 5 November 2021]

'Coronavirus: National Trust "Faces £200m Losses This Year"', *BBC News*, 1 May 2020 <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-52510154> [accessed 4 November 2021]

'Coronavirus: National Trust Redundancy Plan Puts 1,200 Jobs at Risk', *BBC News*, 29 July 2020 <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-53585007> [accessed 5 November 2021]

Cosin, Richard, *An Answer to the Two First and Principall Treatises of a Certeine Factious Libell, Put Foorth Latelie, without Name of Author or Printer, and without Approbation by Authoritie, Vnder the Title of An Abstract of Certeine Acts of Parliament….*, Black letter version (Printed at London: by Henrie Denham for Thomas Chard, 1584)

———, *An Ansvver to the Two Fyrst and Principall Treatises of a Certaine Factious Libell, Put Foorth Latelie, without Name of Author or Printer, and without Approbation by Authoritie, Vnder the Title of An Abstract of Certeine Acts of Parlement…*, Roman letter version (London: Printed for Thomas Chard, 1584)

Cotton, John, *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven: And Power Thereof According to the Word of God* (London: Printed by M. Simmons for Henry Overton, 1644)

———, *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance. Or a Treatise, Wherein Are Handled These Foure Particulars: 1. Touching the Duty It Selfe 2. Touching the Matter to Be*

Sung 3. Touching the Singers 4. Touching the Manner of Singing (London: Printed by M.S. for H. Allen, 1647)

———, *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: In Two Treatises...* (London: printed by Matthew Simmons, for John Bellamie, at the signe of the three Golden-Lions, in Cornhill, 1648)

———, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England, or, The Way of Churches Walking in Brotherly Equalitie, or Co-Ordination, without Subjection of One Church to Another...* (London: Printed by Matthew Simmons in Aldersgatestreet, 1645)

Coverdale, Miles, trans., *Biblia: The Bible, That Is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, Faithfully and Truly Translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe* ([Cologne? Printed by E. Cervicornus and J. Soter?], 1535)

———, trans., *The Whole Byble That Is the Holy Scripture of the Olde and Newe Testament* ([Zurich]: printed [by Christoph Froschauer, and S. Mierdman?] for Andrewe Hester, dwellynge in Paules churchyard at the sygne of the whyte horse, and are there to be solde, 1550)

Cozens-Hardy, B., ed., 'Letters Incidental to Samuel Say's Call to Westminster, 1734', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 19 (1960), 81–90; 129–37.

Crinito, Pietro, *Commentarii de Honesta Disciplina* (Florence: impressum est hoc opus Petri Criniti: opera & impensa Philippi de Giunta bibliopol[a]e Flore[n]tini, 1504)

Dauncey, John, *The History of His Sacred Majesty Charles the II. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Begun from the Murder of His Royal Father of Happy Memory, and Continued to the Present Year, 1660 by a Person of Quality* (London: Printed for James Davies, and are to be sold at the Turks Head in Ivie Lane, and at the Grey hound in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1660)

De Justa & Canonica Absolutione Henrici IIII... Ex Exemplari in Italia Excuso (Paris: [Robert Estienne?], 1594)

Description de l'hotel de ville d'Amsterdam avec les explications de tous les emblems, figures, tableaux, statues &c qui se trouvent Aau-dehors, et au-dedans de ce bâtiment (Amsterdam: J. Ratelband, [1737])

Dibdin, Thomas Frognall, *Bibliomania: Or Book Madness : A Bibliographical Romance, in Six Parts* (London: Printed for the Author, by J. M'Creery, Blackhorse-Court, Fleet-Street ; and sold by Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1811)

——, *The Library Companion: Or, The Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library* (London: Printed for Harding, Triphook, and Lepard : J. Major, 1824)

'Documents re the Presentation of Churchill to the Rectory of Colby; Harbord, Lord Suffield Patron, 1799', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 577/1-4

Drusius, Joannes, *Ad Loca Difficiliora Iosuæ, Iudicum, & Samuelem Commentarius Liber Conscriptus & Editus Auspicijs Illustris. Ordinum Generalium Prouinciarum Foederatarum: Additus Est Sixtini Amama Commentariolus de Decimis Mosaïcis* (Frankener: excudebat Fredericus Heynsius Typographus. Sumptibus Iohannis Iohannis bibliopolæ Arnhemiensis, 1618)

Dugdale, William, *The Ancient Usage in Bearing of Such Ensigns of Honour as Are Commonly Call'd Arms: With a Catalogue of the Present Nobility and Baronets of England*, second ed. (Oxford: s.n., 1682)

Dumont, Jean Baron de Carlscroon, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens; contenant un recueil des traitez d'alliance, de paix, etc.*, 8 vols (Amsterdam ; The Hague: chez P. Brunel, R. et G. Wetstein, les Janssons Waesberge, et l'Honoré et Chatelain. A la Haye, chez P. Husson et Charles Levier, 1726)

Dupuy, Pierre, Jacques Dupuy, and Ismael Boulliau, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae...* (Paris: Impensis directionis. Prostat in eadem bibliotheca. Et apud Dom. Levesque directionis notarium, viâ S. Severini., 1679)

Eliot, John, tran., *The Holy Bible Containing the Old Testament and the New: Translated into the Indian Language* (Cambridge, MA: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663)

Ellys, Sir Richard, *Fortuita sacra: quibus subjicitur Commentarius de Cymbalis* (Rotterdam: apud Joannem Hofhout, 1727)

Ellys, Sir Richard, 'Letter to Maurice Johnson, London, 15 March, 1738/9', Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, SGS/ELLYS/1

Elmham?, Thomas of, *Vita & gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis: e codicibus MSS. vetustis descripsit, & primus luci publicæ dedit Tho. Hearnius* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1728 [i.e. 1727])

Erasmus, Desiderius, *De libero arbitrio diatribē siue collatio* ([Basel]: Apud Ioannem Frobenium, 1524)

——, ed., *Nouum Testamentum omne...* (Basel: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenij, 1519)

Estienne, Robert, *Dictionarium, Seu Latinae Linguae Thesaurus...*, Editio Secunda (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regii, 1543)

Extrait du registre de l'assemblée tenue à Paris sous le nom d'Estats en l'an 1593, sur le Concile de Trente (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1594)

Falcando, Ugo, *Historia de rebus gestis in Siciliæ regno, iam primùm typis excusa, studio & beneficio Reuerendi D. Domini Matthæi Longogęi...* (Paris: Apud M. Dupuys, 1550)

Fane, Mildmay, Earl of Westmorland, *Otia sacra optima fides* (London: Richard Cotes, 1648)

Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon Ex Chronicis Ab Initio Mundi Vsque Ad Annum Domini 1118...* (London: Excudebat Thomas Dausonus, pro Ricardo Watkins, 1592)

Floyer, John, and Edward Baynard, *Psychrolousia: Or, The History of Cold-Bathing, Both Ancient and Modern In Two Parts. The First Written by Sir John Floyer, of Litchfield, Kt. The Second, Treating of the Genuine Use of Hot and Cold Baths...*, The fifth edition (London: Printed for William and John Innys, at the West-End of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1722)

Frankland, Thomas, *The Annals of King James and King Charles the First. Both of Happy Memory : Containing a Faithful History, and Impartial Account of the Great Affairs of State, and Transactions of Parliaments in England, from the Tenth of King James, M.DC.XII. to the Eighteenth of King Charles, M.DC.XL.II* (London: Printed by Tho. Braddyll, for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1681)

Fremen, William, 'Observations of a Traveller in England Principally on the Seats and Mansions of the Nobility and Gentry', London, Sir John Soane's Museum, MS AL.46A

Gallé, Servatius, ed., *Sibylliakoi chrēsmoi hoc est, Sibyllina oracula ex veteribus codicibus emendata, ac restituta et commentariis diversorum illustrata...* (Amsterdam: Apud Henricum & Viduam Theodori Boom, 1689)

Gauden, John, *A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty. Or Artificiall Hansomenesse. In Point of Conscience between Two Ladies* ([London]: Printed for R: Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-Lane, 1656)

Gautier, H., *Traité des ponts : ou il est parlé de ceux des romains & de ceux des modernes* (Paris: Chez Andre Cailleau, 1716)

——, *Traité des ponts: ou il est parlé de ceux des Romains & de ceux des modernes*, nouv. ed. (Paris: Chez A. Cailleau, 1728)

Giornale de letterati d'Italia (Venice: Appresso Gio. Gabbriello Ertz, 1710-23)

Giovio, Paolo, *Nouocomensis episcopi Nucerini, Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus, XXIII libros complectens* (Paris: ex officina typographica Michaelis Vascosani, Via Iacobæa ad insigne Fontis, 1553)

Graevius, Joannes Georgius, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Luculentissimae, & Exquisitissimis Ac Rarissimis in Omni Disciplinarum & Linguarum Genere Libris, Magno Studio Dilectu & Sumptu Quaesitis, Instructissimae, a Joanne de Witt…* (Dordrecht: Apud Theodorum Goris, & Joannem van Braam, bibliopolas, 1701)

Greaves, John, *Miscellaneous Works: To the Whole Is Prefix'd an Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of the Author* (London: printed by J. Hughs, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, for J. Brindley, bookseller to his Royal Highness the Prince of

Wales, in New-Bond-Street; and C. Corbett, over-against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street, 1737)

Greene, Robert, *[15 Plates (besides the Title-Page) of the Subjects of the 15 Books of the Metamorphoses, by Robert Greene]*. ([London]: Robert Greene excud., 1674-88)

Grosvenor, Bendor, 'National Trust Restructuring Plans Are "One of the Most Damaging Assaults on Art Historical Expertise Ever Seen in the UK"', *The Art Newspaper - International Art News and Events*, 21 August 2020 <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2020/08/21/national-trust-restructuring-plans-are-one-of-the-most-damaging-assaults-on-art-historical-expertise-ever-seen-in-the-uk> [accessed 6 May 2022]

Guat, François le, *Voyage et Avantures de François Leguat & de Ses Compagnons, En Deux Isles Desertes Des Indes Orientales...* (London: chez David Mortier, Marchand Libraire, 1708)

Guillet de Saint-Georges, Georges, *The Gentleman's Dictionary: In Three Parts, Viz. I. The Art of Riding the Great Horse. II. The Military Art. III. The Art of Navigation...* (London: Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul's Church-Yard; T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship in Cornhill, 1705)

'[Haggadah for Passover with the Commentaries of Isaac Abravanel ('Leipnik Haggadah')].' ([Altona], 1739), Blickling Hall, Running number 6929

Hampden-Trevor, Robert, 'Letter to John Mitchell, 3 November, 1741', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/17

Harley, Edward, *An Abstract of the Historical Part of the Old Testament: With References to Other Parts of the Scripture, Especially to the New Testament* (London: Printed by W. Bowyer, 1730)

Hartley, John, *Catalogus Universalis Librorum, in Omni Facultate, Linguaque Insignium, & Rarissimorum Non Solum Ex Catalogis Bibliothecarum Bodleianæ, Lugduno-Batavæ, Ultrajectinæ, Barberinæ, Thuanæ, Cordesianæ, Tellerianæ, Slusianæ, & Heinsianæ, Sed Etiam Ex Omnibus Fere Aliis Prælo Impressis Magno Labore & Sumptu in Usum Studiosorum Collectus* (London: Apud Joannem Hartley bibliopolam, exadversum Hospitio Grayensi, in vico vulgo Holborn dicto., 1699)

Heinsius, Daniel, *Poematum*, Nova editio auctior emendatiorque: quorum seriem aversa statim pagina indicabit. (Leiden: Apud Iohannem Maire, 1606)

Héméré, Claude, *De Academia Parisiensi: Qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis* (Paris: Sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1637)

Hemingus, *Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis: E Codice MS. Penes Richardum Graves, de Mickelton in Agro Gloucestriensi, Armigerum, Descripsit Ediditque Tho. Hearnius...*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1723)

Herodotus, *Historiae Libri Novem Quibus Musarum Inclita Sunt Nomina* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502)

Heylyn, Peter, *Aërius Redivivus: Or the History of the Presbyterians : Containing the Beginnings, Progresse, and Successes of That Active Sect. Their Oppositions to Monarchical and Episcopal Government. Their Innovations in the Church; and Their Imbroilments of the Kingdoms and Estates of Christendom in the Pursuit of Their Designs. From the Year 1536 to the Year 1647*, the second edition. (London: [Printed by Robert Battersby] for Christopher Wilkinson..., and Thomas Archer..., and John Crosley in Oxford, 1672)

Hoadly, Benjamin, *The True, Genuine, Tory-Address To Which Is Added, an Explanation of Some Hard Terms Now in Use: For the Information of All Such as Read, or Subscribe, Addresses* ([London]: Sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1710)

Hoeschel, David, *Catalogus Graecorum Codicum Qui Sunt in Bibliotheca Reip. Augustanae Vindelicae, Quadruplo Quam Antea Auctior* (Augsburg: ad insigne pinus, 1595)

Homer, *Batrachomyomachia Graece Ad Veterum Exemplarium Fidem Recusa*, ed. by Michael Maittaire (London: Typis Gulielmi Bowyer, 1721)

Hooke, Jacob, *Bibliotheca Bernardiana: : Or, a Catalogue of the Library of the Late Charles Bernard...* (London, 1711)

Horace, *Opera* (London: Aeneis tabulis incidit Iohannes Pine, 1733)

Horae: Ad Usum Romanum (Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1497)

Horsley, John, *Britannia Romana: : Or the Roman Antiquities of Britain: In Three Books* (London: printed for John Osborn and Thomas Longman, 1732)

Hutton, Richard, and George Croke, *The Arguments of Sir Richard Hutton Knight, One of the Judges of the Common Pleas, and Sir George Croke Knight, One of the Judges of the Kings Bench: Together with the Certificate of Sir John Denham Knight, One of the Barons of the Exchequer : Upon a Scire Facias Brought by the Kings Majesty, in the Court of Exchequer, against John Hampden Esquire…* (London: Printed by M. Flesher and R. Young, the assignes of I. More Esquire, 1641)

Ibn Ṭufayl, Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Malik, *The History of Hai Eb'n Yockdan, an Indian Prince, or, The Self-Taught Philosopher, Written Originally in the Arabick Tongue by Abi Jaafar Eb'n Tophail ; Set Forth Not Long Ago in the Original Arabick, with the Latin Version, by E.D.W. Pococke ; and Now Translated into English* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell and William Thorp, 1686)

Illustrissimi & Excellentissimi Ludovici Henrici, Comitis Castri-Briennij ... Bibliothecae, Ad Ejusdem Filium Constantiae in Normannia Episcopum Pertinentis, Catalogus. A Catalogue of the Library of ... Louis Henry de Lomenie ... (London: Woodman and Lyon, 1724)

International Federation of Library Associations, 'Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records', 1997 <https://www.ifla.org/files/assets/cataloguing/frbr/frbr_2008.pdf> [accessed 20 August 2017]

'Inventory of Books, undated', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/5

Isocrates, *Pros Dēmonikou Logos Parainetikos* (Milan: Uldericus Scinzenzeler and Sebastianus de Ponte Tremulo, 1493)

'Item Record: Blickling Homilies', *Princeton University Library, Online Catalogue* <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9934995233506421> [accessed 15 August 2019]

'Item Record: Blickling Psalter', *The Morgan Library & Museum, Online Catalogue*, 2017 <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/143965> [accessed 15 April 2019].

Jannon, Jean, ed., *Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta [Nouum Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Testamentum Ex Regiis Aliisque Optimis Editionibus Cum Cura Expressum]* (Sedan: Ex typographia & typis nouissimis Ioannis Iannoni, 1628)

Johnson, Maurice, 'Part of a Letter from Maurice Johnson to John Johnson', in *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society: 1710-1761*, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 99 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 116

Josephus, Flavius, *Iosephi Machaciae Filii Hebraei Genere Sacerdotis Ex Hierosolymis De Bello Iudaico Liber I* (Verona: per Magistrum Petru[m] Maufer Gallicum, 1480)

Journal Des Scavans (Amsterdam: chez Pierre Le Grand, 1665-1710)

Justinian I, *Digestorum Seu Pandectarum Iuris Ciuilis Volumen Primum, Vndecim Libros Priores Complectens* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani e regione Scholae Decretorum, 1527)

Kennett, White, *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia: An Attempt towards Laying the Foundation of an American Library in Several Books, Papers, and Writings, Humbly given to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts...* (London: Printed for J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713)

Lactantius, *De Diuinis Institutionibus Aduersus Gentes Rubrice Primi Libri Incipiunt* ([Rostock]: Per fratres presbiteros et cl[er]icos co[n]gregationis domus viridisorti ad s[an]c[te]m Michaelum in opido Rostocken[si] p[ar]tium inferioris Sclauie, 1476)

Leich, Johann Heinrich, *De Origine et Incrementis Typographiae Lipsiensis Liber Singularis...* (Leipzig: In aedibus Bern. Christoph. Breitkopfii, 1740)

Lemaire de Belges, Jean, *Les illustrations de Gaule et dingularitez de Troye* (Paris: par Philippe le noir marcha[n]t libraire [et] relieur iure en Luniuersite de Paris

demourant en la gra[n]t rue sainct Jaques a lenseigne de la Rose blanche couronnee, 1524)

Leopard, Paul, *Isembergensis Furnij, Emendationum et Miscellaneorum Libri Viginti* (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1568)

Leti, Gregorio, *La Vie de Don Pedro Giron, Duc D'Ossone...* (Amsterdam: Chez Georges Gallet, 1700)

'Letters to Lord Lothian', Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD40/9/425/8/1

'Letters to Lord Lothian', Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD40/9/461/10

Lewis, John, *A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible, and New Testament, into English, Both in MS. and in Print and of the Most Remarkable Editions of Them since the Invention of Printing* (London: Printed by H. Woodfall, for Joseph Pote, bookseller at Eton, 1739)

Lewis, Thomas, *Origines Hebrææ: The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick...* (London: printed for Sam. Illidge; and John Hooke, 1724-25)

'A List of Several Things Laid by in the Drawers, and Elsewhere', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. Dashwood (Bucks.) B.12/3/5

Llwyd, Humphrey, *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentvm* (Cologne: Apud Ioannem Birckmannum, 1572)

Lobb, Theophilus, *A Practical Treatise of Painful Distempers With Some Effectual Methods of Curing Them, Exemplified in a Great Variety of Suitable Histories* (London: Printed for James Buckland, at the Buck, in Pater-Noster Row, 1739)

Lomeier, Johannes, *Ecclesiastae Zutphaniensis De Bibliothecis Liber Singularis*, Editio secunda… (Utrecht: Ex officina Johannis Ribbii, bibliopolae, 1680)

Lucian of Samosata, *De dea Syria libellus* (Milan: Vincentius Medda exprimebat, 1539)

———, *Philosophou ta szomena [Philosophi Opera omnia quae extant]....* (Paris: Apud Iulianum Bertault, in monte D. Hilarij, ad insigne Henrici Magni, 1615)

——, *Tade enestin en tōde tō bibliō. Loukianou. Philostratou eikones. Tou autou ērōika. Tou autou bioi sophistōn. Philostratou neōterou eikones. Kallistratou ekphraseis [Que hoc volumine continentur. Luciani opera. Icones Philostrati. Eiusdem Heroica.Eiusdem uitæ Sophistarum. Icones Iunioris Philostrati. Descriptiones Callistrati]* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1503)

Maffei, Francesco Scipione, Marquis, *Della Scienza chiamata Cavalleresca libri tre* (Roma: Presso Francesco Gonzaga in via Lata, 1710)

Mahmut, the Turkish Spy, *The First Volume of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy Who Lived Five and Forty Years, Undiscover'd, at Paris…,* The fifth edition. (London: printed by J. Leake, for Henry Rhodes, 1693)

———, *The Second [Third-Eighth] Volume of Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy Who Lived Five and Forty Years, Undiscover'd, at Paris*..., The sixth edition. (London: printed H. Rhodes, D. Brown, R. Sare, J. Nicolson, B. Took, and G. Strahan, 1707)

Maittaire, Michael, *Annales Typographici Ab Artis Inventae Origine Ad Annum MD* (The Hague: apud Isaacum Vaillant, 1719)

——, *Græcæ linguæ dialecti: in scholæ regiæ Westmonasteriensis usum...* (The Hague: apud Joannem Neaulme..., 1738)

———, *Senilia, sive poetica aliquot in argumentis varii generis tentamina* (London: finem imposuit Gulielmus Bowyer anno salutis humanae, 1742)

———, *Stephanorum historia, vitas ipsorum ac libros complectens.* (London: Typis Benj. Motte, impensis Christoph. Bateman, 1709)

Malalas, John, *Chronikē historia [Historia Chronica]* (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1691)

Mallinckrodt, Bernard von, *De ortu ac progressu artis typographicae: dissertatio Historia in qua Praeter alia pleraque ad calcographices negocium spectantia de auctoribus et loco inventionis praecupuè inquiritur proque moguntinis contra Harlemenses conductitur* (Cologne: apud Ioannem Kinchium sub monocerote veteri, 1640)

Marcellinus, Ammianus, *Rerum Gestarum Qui de XXXI Supersunt, Libri XVIII*, quarto edition (Leiden: Apud Petrum van der Aa, 1693)

———, *Rerum Gestarum Qui de XXXI Supersunt, Libri XVIII*, folio edition (Leiden: Apud Petrum van der Aa, 1693)

Marchand, Prosper, *Histoire de l'origine et des prémiers [sic] progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague: Chez La Veuve Le Vier, et Pierre Paupie, librairie, 1740)

Martin, Gabriel, *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Illustrissimi Viri Caroli Henrici Comitis de Hoym Olim Regis Poloniæ Augusti II. apud Regem Christianissimum Legati Extraordinarii* (Paris: apud Gabrielem & Claudium Martin, via Jacobæa, ad insigne stellæ, 1738)

Maunsell, Andrew, *The First Part of the Catalogue of English Printed Bookes Vvhich Concerneth Such Matters of Diuinitie, as Haue Bin Either Written in Our Owne Tongue, or Translated out of Anie Other Language: And Haue Bin Published, to the Glory of God, and Edification of the Church of Christ in England. Gathered into Alphabet, and Such Method as It Is* (London: Printed by Iohn VVindet [and James Roberts] for Andrew Maunsell, dwelling in Lothburie, 1595)

Maximus of Tyre, *Logoi [Dissertationes]* (Oxford: E theatro Sheldoniano, 1677)

Ménage, Gilles, *Ménagiana, ou, les bons mots, et remarques critiques, historiques, morales & d'érudition*, ed. by Bernard de la Monnoye, nouv. ed. (Paris: Chez la veuve Delaulne, 1729)

Merula, Georgius, and Giovanni Giocondo, *Libri de Re Rustica M. Catonis* (Venice: In aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri, 1514)

Mitchell, John, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 2 December, 1721', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.9

———, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 2 April, 1722', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.10

———, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 26 November, 1730', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.27

——, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 25 March, 1731', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.28

———, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 17 May, 1732', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.33

———, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 4 July, 1730', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.26

———, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 16 December, 1738', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.34

———, 'Letter to Charles Mackie, 14 March, 1741', Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, La.II.90.1.40

———, 'Letter to Maurice Johnson, London, 25 April, 1734', Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society, SGS/MITCHELL/1

Molinet, Claude du, *Historia Summorum Pontificum per Eorum Numismata* (Paris: Apud Ludovicum Billaine bibliopolam Parisiensem, 1679)

Montfaucon, Bernard de, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova* (Pari: Apud Briasson, via Jacobæa, ad Insigne Scientiæ., 1739)

———, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (Paris: Chez Florentin Delaulne, 1719)

———, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures …*, seconde edition, revue et corrigée. (Paris: Chez Florentin Delaulne, la veuve d'Hilaire Foucault, Michel Clouiser, Jean-Geoffroy Nyon, Etienne Ganeau, Nicolas Gosselin, et Pierre-François Giffart, 1722)

Monstrelet, Enguerrand de, *Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet Gentil-Homme Iadis Demeurant a Cambray En Cambresis...* (Paris: chez Guillaume Chaudiere, 1572)

Moore, Jonas, *The History or Narrative of the Great Level of the Fenns, Called Bedford Level: With a Large Map of the Said Level...* (London: printed for Moses Pitt, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1685)

Morel, Guillaume, *De verbis anomalis commentarius, in quo singula verba, aut anomola, aut alioqui difficilia ordine alphabetico ad sua themata reuocantur…* (Paris: Apud Guil. Morelium typographum Regium, 1558)

'Mr Churchill List of Books Wanted at Blickling from N A Library, Mid-Nineteenth Century', Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Kerr papers, MS 5828, fol. 17

Nain de Tillemont, Louis Sébastien le, *Histoire des empereurs: et des autres princes qui ont regné durant les six premier siècles de l'Église : des persecutions qu'ils ont faites aux Chrétiens, de leurs guerres contre les Juifs, des ecrivains profanes, & des personnes les plus illustres de leur temps…* (Paris: Chez Charles Robustel, 1690-1738)

'The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty - Charity 205846', *Charity Commission for England and Wales* <https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/sector-data/top-10-charities/-/charity-details/205846/governing-document> [accessed 5 May 2022]

Naudé, Gabriel, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: chez Francois Targa, 1627)

———, *Bibliothecæ Cordesianæ Catalogus: Cum Indice Titulorum* (Paris: Excudebat Antonius Vitray ... . Prostant exemplaria apud Laurentium Saunier ..., 1643)

———, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library: Presented to My Lord the President de Mesme,* trans. by John Evelyn (London: Printed for G Bedle, and T Collins, at the Middle-Temple gate, and J Crook in St Pauls Church-yard, 1661)

Nicolson, William, and White Kennett, *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries Giving a Short View and Character of Most of Our Historians, Either in Print or Manuscript… to Which Is Added, a Letter to the Reverend White Kennett, D. D. in Defence of the English Historical Library, &c.*, the third edition, corrected and augmented (London: Printed for G. Strahan, at the Golden Ball in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb on Ludgate-Hill; T. Woodward, at the Half-Moon, between the two Temple gates, in Fleet-Street; F. Clay, at the Bible, and D. Browne, at the Black-Swan, without Temple-Bar; C. Davis, in Pater-noster Row; and T. Osborne, in Gray's-Inn, 1736)

'Note on the Blickling Library (mid-nineteenth century)', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/858/2

Oldys, William, and Samuel Johnson, *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ in locos communes distributus, cum indice auctorum* (London: Apud Thomas Osborne, 1743)

Orrock, Alexander, ‘Letters to the 8th Marquis of Lothian, 1867-70’, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Kerr papers, MS 5828

Ortus Vocabulorum (London: Richard Pynson, 1508)

Owen, Dorothy M., *The Minute-Books of the Spalding Gentlemen’s Society 1712-1755* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Palladio, Andrea, *L’architettura d’Andrea Palladio, divisa in quatro libri: di nuovo ristampata, ed abbellita coll’impressione delle figure in rame non più usata : con l’aggiunta del quinto libro, che tratta delle antichità di Roma dell’ autore medemo non più veduto* (Venice: Per Domenico Louisa à Rialto, 1711)

Peck, Francis, *A Complete Catalogue of All the Discourses Written, Both for and against Popery, in the Time of King James II: Containing in the Whole, an Account of Four Hundred and Fifty Seven Books and Pamphlets, a Great Number of Them Not Mentioned in the Three Former Catalogues...* (London: Printed and sold at St. John’s Gate; by A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; J. Stag and J. Fox, in Westminster-Hall, E. Nutt and Mrs. Cook, at the Royal Exchange., 1735)

Peck, Linda Levy, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeeth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

‘Pedigrees and Notes on the Hobart Family Collected by Henry Hobart, with Additions by Bulwer’, Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, COL 13/34/34

Perrault, Claude, *Memoir’s for a Natural History of Animals: Containing the Anatomical Descriptions of Several Creatures Dissected by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris,* trans. by Alexander Pitfield (London: Printed by Joseph Streater, and are to be sold by T. Basset, at the George in Fleet-Street. J. Robinson, at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul’s Church-Yard. B. Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons over against the Royal-Exchange. Joh. Southby, at the Harrow in Cornhil. And by W Canning, in the Temple, 1688)

Petty, William, *A Geographicall Description of Ye Kingdom of Ireland: Collected from Ye Actual Survey Made by Sr. William Petty Corrected & Amended, by the Advice, & Assistance, of Severall Able Artists* (London: engraven & publ. by F. Lamb. Sold at his house. By R. Morden. And by W. Berry, 1689)

Planche, Louis Régnier de la, *Histoire de l'estat de France, tant de la république que de la religion sous le règne de François II* ([Geneva?]: s.n., 1576)

Popelinière, Lancelot-Voisin la, *L’histoire de France enrichie des plus notables occurrances suruenues ez prouinces de l’Europe & pays voisins soit en paix soit en guerre* ([La Rochelle]: De l’imprimerie par Abraham H., 1581)

Plaisirs de l’isle Enchantée , Course de Bague : Collation Ornée de Machines ; Comédie, Meslée de Danse et de Musique, Ballet Du Palais d’Alcine ; Feu d’artifice : Et Autres Festes Galantes et Magnifiques, Faites Par Le Roy à Versailles, Le VII. May

M.DC.LXIV et Continuées Plusieurs Autres Jours (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale (par les soins de Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy), 1673)

'PhD Opportunities with the National Trust', *National Trust* <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/phd-opportunities-with-the-national-trust> [accessed 6 May 2022]

Phillips, Edward, *The New World of Words: Or, Universal English Dictionary. Containing an Account of the Original or Proper Sense, and Various Significations of All Hard Words Derived from Other Languages...*, The sixth edition, revised, corrected, and improved; with the addition of near twenty thousand words... by J. K. Philobibl... (London: printed for J. Phillips; H. Rhodes; and J. Taylor, 1706)

Pindar, *[Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia]* (Frankfurt: Opera & impensa Petri Brubacchii, 1542)

———, *[Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia]* ([Geneva]: Oliua Pauli Stephani, 1599)

Plot, Robert, *The Natural History of Stafford-Shire* (Oxford: Printed at the theater, 1686)

Pontoppidan, Erich, *Gesta et vestigia Danorum extra Daniam ... maximam partem ipsis scriptorum, non exoticorium minus, quam domesticorum, verbis adumbrata* (Leipzig and Copenhagen: Sumptibus Iacobi Preussii, 1740)

Price, Daniel, *Lamentations for the Death of the Late Illustrious Prince Henry: And the Dissolution of His Religious Familie: Two Sermons...* (London: Printed by Tho. Snodham, for Roger Iackson, and are to be sould at his shop neere to Fleetstreet Conduit, 1613)

Prideaux, Humphrey, *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations: From the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*, Ninth edition (London: Printed for R. Knaplock, and J. Tonson, 1725)

Promptoriu[m] paruūlorum [sic] clericor[um]: quod apud nos Medulla gra[m]matice appellatur scolasticis q[uia] maxi[m]e necessariu[m]... (London: Impressum per ... Julianum notarium ... et venundatur apud bibliopolas in cimiterio sancti pauli in ... ciuitate londonii., 1508)

Rawlinson, Richard, 'Letter from Richard Rawlinson to George Ballard', Bodleian Library, MS. Ballard 2

———, 'Letters', Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. lett. 31, fol. 444

Ray, John, *A Collection of English Proverbs Digested into a Convenient Method for the Speedy Finding Any One upon Occasion : With Short Annotations…* (Cambridge: Printed by John Hayes, printer to the University, for W. Morden, 1670)

A Report from the Committee Appointed to View the Cottonian Library: And Such of the Publick Records of This Kingdom, as They Think Proper, and to Report to the House

the Condition Thereof Together with What They Shall Judge Fit to Be Done for the Better Reception, Preservation, and More Convenient Use of the Same. Published by Order of the House of Commons (London: Printed for R. Williamson near Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and W. Bowyer in White-Friars, 1732)

Rigault, Nicolas, *Auctores Finium Regundorum. Nicolai Rigaltij Obseruationes et Notae, Item Glossae Agrimensoriae* (Paris: Apud Ioannem Libertum, 1614)

Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle: Transcrib'd, and Now First Publish'd, from a MS. in the Harleyan Library by Thomas Hearne, M.A. To Which Is Added, besides a Glossary ... a Continuation (by the Author Himself) of This Chronicle from a MS. in the Cottonian Library* (Oxford: printed at the Theater, 1724)

Roche, Michel de la, ed., *New Memoirs of Literature: Containing an Account of New Books Printed Both at Home and Abroad, with Dissertations upon Several Subjects, Miscellaneous Observations. &c.* (London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, 1725-27)

Rous, John, *Historia regum Angliæ: E codice MS. in Bibliotheca Bodlejana descripsit, notisque & indice adornavit Tho. Hearnius, A.M. Oxoniensis. Accedit Joannis Lelandi antiquarii Nænia in mortem Henrici Duddelegi Equitis; cui praefigitur testimonium de Lelando amplum & praeclarum, hactenus ineditum.*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1716)

Rousset de Missy, Jean, *Recueil historique d'actes, négociations, mémoires et traitez depuis la Paix d'Utrecht jusqu'au Second Congrès de Cambray inclusivement (jusqu'à celle d'Aix-la-Chapelle).*, 21 vols (The Hague; Amsterdam; Leipzig, 1728-54)

Royal Society (Great Britain), *Philosophical Transactions, Giving Some Account of the Present Undertakings, Studies, and Labours of the Ingenious, in Many Considerable Parts of the World* (London: printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, printers to the Royal Society, 1665-), I–XXXVI

Saint-Didier, Alexandre Touissant Limojon de, *Histoire des negotiations de Nimegue* (Paris [i.e. Amsterdam]: Chez Claude Barbin, 1680)

Saint Epiphanius, *Hesychii, et Chrysippi, presbyterorum Hierosolymitanoru[m] Sermones aliquot, De laudibus beatissimae Virginis Mariae deiparae...* (Paris: Apud viduam Guil. Morelij, 1565)

Sallier, Claude, and Pierre Jean Boudot, *Catalogue des livres imprimez de la Bibliothèque Du Roy* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie royale, 1739)

Serres, Jean de, *Gasparis Colinij Castellonij, magni quondam Franciæ amirallij, vita.* (Geneva: s.n., 1575)

Shadwell, Thomas, *The Virtuoso: A Comedy Acted At the Duke's Theatre* (London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman etc., 1676)

Sheridan, Thomas, *A Discourse of the Rise & Power of Parliaments, of Law's, of Courts of Judicature, of Liberty, Property, and Religion, of the Interest of England in Reference to the Desines of France, of Taxes and of Trade...* (London: s.n., 1677)

Silius Italicus, Tiberius Catius, *Punicorum Liber Primus Incipit* (Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1471)

Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, *Strength out of Weakness, or, A Glorious Manifestation of the Further Progresse For the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England Held Forth in Sundry Letters from Divers Ministers and Others to the Corporation Established by Parliament for Promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in New-England…* (London: M. Simmons, 1652)

Sophocles, *Sophokleous Tragōdiai hepta met'exēgēseōn [Sophoclis Tragaediae [sic] septem cum commentariis]* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502)

Spanheim, Friedrich, *Histoire de la Papesse Jeanne fidèlement tirée de la dissertation latine de Mr. de Spanheim*, trans. by Jacques Lenfant, Troisième édition augmentée, etc. (The Hague: J. vanden Kieboom, 1736)

Spon, Jacob, *Histoire de Genève* (Geneva: Chez Fabri & Barrillot, 1730)

State Tracts: Being a Collection of Several Treatises Relating to the Government Privately Printed in the Reign of K. Charles II (London: s.n., 1689)

State Tracts: Being a Farther Collection of Several Choice Treatises Relating to the Government. From the Year 1660. to 1689. Now Published in a Body, to Shew the Necessity, and Clear the Legality of the Late Revolution, and Our Present Happy Settlement, under the Auspicious Reign of Their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary (London: Printed, and are to be sold by Richard Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, 1692)

Stillingfleet, Edward, *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion: Being a Vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference, &c.* (London: Printed by Rob. White for Henry Mortlock at the sign of the Phoenix in St. Pauls Church-yard near the little North-door, 1665)

Stoughton, William, *An Abstract, of Certain Acts of Parliament: Of Certaine Her Maiesties Iniunctions: Of Certaine Canons, Constitutions, and Synodalles Prouinciall: Established and in Force, for the Peaceable Gouernment of the Church, within Her Maiesties Dominions and Countries, for the Most Part Heretofore Vnknowen and Vnpractized* ([London]: [Printed by Robert Waldegrave], 1583)

Strabo, *Geographi Europe Primus Commentarius*, ed. by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, trans. by Guarino ([Rome]: Conrardus suueynheym: Arnoldus pa[n]nartzq[ue] magistri Rome impresserunt talia multa simul, 1473)

'Strategy', *National Trust* <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/strategy> [accessed 2 August 2019]

Strype, John, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England; during the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign...* (London: Printed for John Wyat, 1709)

Stukeley, William, *Of the Gout: In Two Parts. First, A Letter to Sir Hans Sloan, Bart. about the Cure of the Gout ... Secondly, A Treatise of the Cause and Cure of the Gout* (London]: pr. for J. Roberts, 1734)

Suetonius, '[Ab Rhodo Quo p[Er]Tenderat ... Insequentiu[m] Principu[m]. Caesa[Rum] Lib[Er] Xii Explicit]' ([Ferrara?], 1452), Blickling Hall, Running number 6917

———, *Opera* (Venice: Heirs of Aldus Manutius, 1521)

———, *Tranquilli XII Caesares Ex Uetusto Exemplari Emendatiores Multis Locis.* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1543)

Suicer, Johann Kaspar, 'Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Novum', 1672, Blickling Hall, no running number

———, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus, e patribus Graecis ordine alphabetico exhibens quaecunque phrases, ritus, dogmata, haereses, & hujusmodi alia spectant*, Editio secunda, priori emendatior, elegantior & longe auctior (Amsterdam: apud R. & J. Wetstenios & Gul. Smith, 1728)

Talbot, Lady Constance Harriet Mahonesa, 'Notes by Lady Lothian on Anglo-Saxon History', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/854/1-2

Tēs Kainēs Diathēkēs hapanta [Nouum Testamentum] Ex bibliotheca regia (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regij, typis Regijs, 1546)

The Boke of Common Praier, and Administracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande (London: in officina Richardi Graftoni: Regii Impressoris. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum., 1552)

'The Statutes and Ordinaunces of the Most Noble Order of St George Named the Garter Refourmed Explayned Declared and Renued by the Most High Most Excellent & Most Puissaunt Prince Henry Ye Eight by Ye Grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland &c.' ([England], 1589), Blickling Hall, Running number 6848

Thoresby, Ralph, *Vicaria Leodiensis, or, The History of the Church of Leedes in Yorkshire Containing an Account of the Learned Men, Bishops, and Writers, Who Have Been Vicars of That Populous Parish, with the Catalogue of Their Works, Printed and Manuscript...* (London: printed for Joseph Smith, from Exeter-Change, near the Fountain-Tavern in the Strand, 1724)

Tibullus, and Gaius Valerius Catullus, *Albii Tibulli equitis Romani poetae clarissimi liber primus* (Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis, 1487)

Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta [Nouum Iesu Christi D. N. Testamentum] (Geneva: Apud Petrum de la Rouiere, 1620)

Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta [Nouum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum] Ex Bibliotheca Regia., ed. By Robert Estienne, Editio Regia (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii, regiis typis, 1550)

Tyndale, William, tran., *[The New Testament]* (Cologne: Peter Quentell[?], 1525)

Tyrrell, James, *The General History of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil: From the Earliest Accounts of Time, to the Reign of His Present Majesty, King William III. Taken from the Most Ancient Records, Manuscripts, and Printed Historians...* (London: printed, and are to be sold by W. Rogers, in Fleetstreet; J. Harris, in Little Britain; R. Knaplock, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; A. Bell, in Cornhill; and T. Cockerill, at the corner of Warwick-Lane, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1697)

'Valuation, Blickling Hall, 1947', Norfolk, National Trust Head Office

'Valuation, Blickling Hall, 1955', Norfolk, National Trust Head Office

'Valuation, 1756', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/252

Veil, Thomas de, 'Observations on the Practice of a Justice of the Peace, Intended for the Use of Such Gentlemen as Design to Act for the County of Middlesex or Citty and Liberty of Westminster' (London?, 1737), Blickling Hall, Running number 6871

———, *Observations on the Practice of a Justice of the Peace Intended for Such Gentlemen as Design to Act for Middlelex [Sic] or Westminster* (London: printed for E. Withers at the Seven Stars, next the Inner-Temple-Gate, Fleet-Street, 1747)

Verbiest, Ferdinand, *Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie: ausquels on a joint une nouvelle découverte au Mexique* (Paris: chez Etienne Michallet, 1695)

Victorinus, Marius, *Rhetoris Doctissimi Commentarii in Rhetoricos M. Tullii Ciceronis* (Paris: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1537)

Vogt, Johann, *Iohannis Vogt pastoris eccl. cathed. Brem. Catalogvs historico-criticvs librorvm rariorvm: sive, Ad scripta hvivs argvmenti spiciligivm index, et accessiones*, Ed. nova (Hamburg: sumptibus Christiani Heroldi, 1738)

Wanley, Humfrey, *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, ed. by C.E. Wright and Ransom C. Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966)

Weldene, Godolphin, 'Letters to Constance, Lady Lothian, 1876', Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/853/1-5

Welser, Marcus, *Fragmenta tabulae antiquae, in quis aliquot per Rom. prouincias itinera* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1591)

Wentworth, Peter, *A Pack of Pvritans, Maintayning the Vnlavvfulnesse, or Vnexpediencie or Both... As Also a Defence of the Authority of Princes and Parliaments to Intermeddle with Matters of Religion, and a Short Discourse Whether Things Consecrated May Be Alienated* (London: Printed for William Sheeres, 1641)

Wetstein, Jacobus, *Bibliotheca Uilenbroukiana; sive, Catalogus librorum quos collegit ... Gosuinus Uilenbroek…* (Amsterdam: apud Wetstenium & Smith, 1729)

Wicquefort, Abraham de, '[Histoire Des Provinces-Unies Des Pais-Bas]' ([Netherlands], [1667-1682]), Blickling Hall, running number 6939

———, *L'histoire des provinces-unies, confirmée & eclaircie par des preuves authentiques: Ou recueil très ample & très exact de traités…* (The Hague: Chez T. Johnson, 1719)

'Will of John Earl of Buckinghamshire of Blickling Hall , Norfolk', 1793, The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/1237/175

'Will of Sir Richard Ellys of Nocton , Lincolnshire', 1742, The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/716/230

Wilson, Gabriel, 'Letter to Sir Richard Ellys, 1728', Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire Archives, D/X/396/7

Winslow, Edward, *Hypocrisie Unmasked by a True Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusets against Samvel Gorton (and His Accomplices)…* (London: Printed by Richard Cotes for John Bellamy, 1646)

Woodward, Josiah, *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, in England and Ireland With a Persuasive to Persons of All Ranks, to Be Zealous and Diligent in Promoting the Execution of the Laws against Prophaneness and Debauchery, for the Effecting a National Reformation. Published with the Approbation of a Considerable Number of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Honourable Judges of Both Kingdoms* (London: Printed for B. Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhill; and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1699)

Wycliffe, John, *Dialogorum. Libri quattuor: quorum primus divinitatem et ideas tractat, secundus universarum creationem complectitur, tertius de virtutibus vitiisque ipsis contrariis* ... ([Basel]: s.n., 1525)

Young, Edward, *Two Epistles to Mr. Pope Concerning the Authors of the Age* (London: Printed for Lawton Gilliver, at Homer's Head against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1730)

Secondary Sources

Adam, Derek, and England) Harley Gallery (Worksop, *The Great Collector : Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford* (Worksop: Harley Gallery, 2013)

Adams, Thomas R., and Nicolas Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book', in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clark Lectures 1986-1987*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1993), pp. 5–43

'Alexander Orrock', *Scottish Book Trade Index*, 2016 <https://data.cerl.org/sbti/005827> [accessed 4 May 2022]

Allen, David, 'Book-Collecting and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 45 (2015), 74–92

American Art Association, *Illuminated Manuscripts, Incunabula and Americana from the Famous Libraries of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian ... Sale January 27 and 28, 1932 at 8:15 P.M.* (New York: American art association, Anderson Galleries Inc., 1932)

Anderson, Cameron, John Angus D. Hildreth, and Laura Howland, 'Is the Desire for Status a Fundamental Human Motive? A Review of the Empirical Literature', *Psychological Bulletin*, 141.3 (2015), 574–601 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038781>

Appadurai, Arjan, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjan Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 3–63

Argent, Alan, *Dr Williams's Trust and Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, Inc., 2022)

Arnold, Ken, Susan M. Pearce, Alexandra Bounia, Ken Arnold, and Paul Martin, eds., *The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting.*, Perspectives on Collecting (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)

Ashley, Hanson Craig, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)

Barczewski, Stephanie L., *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014)

Barker, Nicolas, *Treasures from the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses* (New York: Royal Oak Foundation & The Grolier Club, 1999)

Batts, Michael S., 'The 18th-Century Concept of the Rare Book', *The Book Collector*, 24.3 (1975), 381–400

Baudrillard, Jean, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London: Verso, 1997)

Belk, Russell W., *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1994)

———, ‘Collectors and Collecting’, in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 534–41

———, ‘The Comfort of Things’, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 9.2 (2009), 297–99 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540509104856>

———, ‘Possessions and the Extended Self’, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15.2 (1988), 139–68

Benjamin, Walter, ‘Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting’, in *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 59–67

Berg, Maxine, ‘From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Economic History Review*, 55.1 (2002), 1–30

———, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

———, ‘Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 173–91

———, and Helen Clifford, ‘Commerce and Commodity : Graphic Display and Selling New Consumer Goods in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800. Ed. North, Michael; Ormrod, David* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 187–200

Bermingham, Ann, ‘Introduction: The Consmption of Culture: Image, Object, Text’, in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1–20

Black, Alistair, ‘Information and Modernity: The History of Information and the Eclipse of Library History’, *Library History*, 14.1 (1998), 39–45 <https://doi.org/10.1179/lib.1998.14.1.39>

———, ‘New Methodologies in Library History: A Manifesto for the “New” Library History’, *Library History*, 11.1 (1995), 76–85 <https://doi.org/10.1179/lib.1995.11.1.76>

Blair, Ann, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)

Blom, Philipp, *To Have and to Hold: An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting* (London: Penguin, 2003)

Bodleian Libraries, *British Book Trade Index* <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 27 April 2022].

Bondy, Louis W., *Miniature Books: Their History from the Beginnings to the Present Day* (London: Sheppard, 1981)

'Books and Libraries Guide', *National Trust* <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/article/books-and-libraries-guide> [accessed 22 April 2022]

Boulger, G.S., and Michael Bevan, 'Lawson, Isaac (d. 1747), Physician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16199>

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2010)

———, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. by John G. Richardson (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241–58

Bradley, James E., *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Brewer, John, and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993)

Brundin, Abigail, and Dunstan Roberts, 'Book-Buying and the Grand Tour : The Italian Books at Belton House in Lincolnshire', *The Library*, 16.1 (2015), 51–79 <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/16.1.51>

Cadogan, Gerald, 'Buildings', in *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years*, ed. by Howard Newby (London: National Trust, 1995), pp. 117-134

Cannadine, David, 'The First Hundred Years', in *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years*, ed. by Howard Newby (London: National Trust, 1995), pp. 11-31

Carey, Catherine, 'Modeling Collecting Behavior: The Role of Set Completion', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 29.3 (2008), 336–47 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2007.08.002>

Carley, James P., 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Salvaging of the Spoils', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume 1: To 1640*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 265–91

Carr, Hannah L., and Vivian L. Vignoles, 'Keeping up with the Joneses: Status Projection as Symbolic Self-Completion', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41.4 (2011), 518–27 <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.812>

Carr, William, and Martyn J. Powell, 'Trevor, Robert Hampden-, First Viscount Hampden (1706–1783), Diplomatist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27733>

Carter, John, *Taste & Technique in Book-Collecting: A Study of Recent Developments in Great Britain and the United States*, Sandars Lectures in Bibliography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949)

Chambers, Talbot W., ed., *The Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge and Gazetteer*, second ed. (New York: The Christian literature co, 1891)

Champion, J. A. I., 'Enlightened Erudition and the Politics of Reading in John Toland's Circle', *The Historical Journal; Cambridge*, 49.1 (2006), 111–41

Chartier, Roger, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987)

———, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994)

Clapinson, Mary, 'Gale, Roger (1672–1744), Antiquary', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10294>

——, 'Rawlinson, Richard (1690–1755), Topographer and Bishop of the Nonjuring Church of England', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23192>

Clarke, Jack A., 'Sir Hans Sloane and Abbé Jean Paul Bignon: Notes on Collection Building in the Eighteenth Century', *The Library Quarterly*, 50.4 (1980), 475–82

Collins, Brenda, 'Family Networks and Social Connections in the Survival of a Seventeenth-Century Library Collection', *Library & Information History*, 33.2 (2017), 123–42 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17583489.2017.1299427>

Coral, Lenore, and A.N.L. Munby, *British Book Sale Catalogues, 1676-1800* (London: Mansell, 1977)

Courtney, W.P., and M.J. Mercer, 'St Amand, James (1687–1754), Classical Scholar and Book Collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24477>

Cowie, Leonard W., *Henry Newman: An American in London, 1708-43* (London: Published for the Church Historical Society by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1956)

———, 'Newman, Henry (1670–1743), Missionary Society Administrator', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39693>

Craciun, Adriana, and Simon Schaffer, eds., *The Material Cultures of Enlightenment Arts and Sciences*, Palgrave Studies in the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Cultures of Print (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

Crawford, Alice, ‘Introduction’, in *The Meaning of the Library: A Cultural History*, ed. by Alice Crawford (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. xiii–xxix

Darlow, T. H., and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: The Bible House, 1903)

Davis, Paul, ‘Popery and Publishing in the Restoration Crisis : A Whig Gentry Family’s Credit Account with Their London Bookseller, 1680—1683’, *The Library*, 15.3 (2014), 261–91 <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/15.3.261>

Dudley, Sandra H., ‘Introduction: Museums and Things’, in *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation : Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-11

‘Etienne Baluze’, in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1951), pp. 23–25

Fedden, Robin, and Rosemary Joekes, eds., *Treasures of the National Trust* (London: J. Cape, 1976)

Fisher, F.J., ‘The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4.30 (1948), 37–50

Fladmark, J. M., ed., *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity* (Shaftesbury: Donhead, 2000)

Furno, Martine, and Raphaële Mouren, eds., *Auteur, traducteur, collaborateur, imprimeur--: qui écrit?*, Études et essais sur la Renaissance, 99 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012)

Garberson, Eric, ‘Libraries, Memory and the Space of Knowledge’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 18.2 (2006), 105–36 <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhl011>

Goldfinch, Joseph, ‘Sloane’s Incunabula’, in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*, ed. by Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor, and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 208–20

Green, Ian, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Harmsen, Theodor, ‘Rawlinson, Thomas (1681–1725), Book Collector’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23195>

———, ‘Horsley, John (1685/6–1732), Natural Philosopher and Antiquary’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13819>

Haycock, David Boyd, ‘Stukeley, William (1687–1765), Antiquary and Natural Philosopher’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26743>

Hoelscher, Steven, ‘Heritage’, in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald, Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies, 12 (Malden, Mass. ; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 198–218

Honeybone, D., and Michael Honeybone, eds., *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentleman’s Society, 1710-1761*, The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, 99 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010)

Honeybone, Michael, and Yvonne Lewis, ‘Ellys, Sir Richard, Third Baronet (1682-1742)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Ed.*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8729> [accessed 9 October 2017]

Hont, Istvan, ‘The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury’, in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. by Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 377–418

Hoskins, Janet, ‘Agency, Biography and Objects’, in *The Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Tilley et al. (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 74–84

Howsam, Leslie, ‘The Study of Book History’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 1–14

Hunt, Arnold, ‘Private Libraries in the Age of Bibliomania’, in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume 2 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 438–58

———, ‘Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts’, in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*, ed. by Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor, and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 190–207

Hunter, Michael, Alison Walker, and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *From Books to Bezoars : Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections* (London: British Library, 2012)

Ingram, Robert G., *Reformation without End: Religion, Politics and the Past in Post-Revolutionary England*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester: University Press, 2018)

‘Item Record: Ab Rhodo Quo p[Er]Tenderat ...’, *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20este%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=12&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022]

‘Item Record: Academiques de Ciceron’, *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Academiques%2

0de%20Ciceron%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022]

'Item Record: Bible, Mainz, 1462', *Library of Congress, Online Catalogue* <https://www.loc.gov/item/48037378/> [accessed 5 May 2022]

'Item Record: Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana...', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Bibliotheca%20Hohendorfiana&rn=2> [accessed 26 April 2022]

'Item Record: De Vita Caesarum', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20petrus%20nannius%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=6&for=ntr> [accessed 28 April 2022]

'Item Record: Digestorum Seu Pandectarum Iuris Ciuilis Volumen Primum, Vndecim Libros Priores Complectens', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Digestorum%20seu%20Pandectarum%20iuris%20ciuilis%20volumen%20primum&rn=2&for=ntr> [accessed 26 April 2022]

'Item Record: Discours de La Foy, Copied by Esther Inglis', *Huntington Digital Library* <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll7/id/53260> [accessed 22 August 2022]

'Item Record: Historia Summorum Pontificum per Eorum Numismata', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Historia%20summorum%20pontificum%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022]

'Item Record: M. Fabii Victorini Rhetoris Doctissimi Commentarii in Rhetoricos M. Tullii Ciceronis', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20M.%20Fabii%20Victorini%20rhetoris%20doctissimi%20Commentarii%20in%20Rhetoricos%20M.%20Tullii%20Ciceronis%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 27 April 2022]

'Item Record: Strabo Geographi', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20%20%20Geographia%20Europe%20primus%20commentarius%20%20%20%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 5 May 2022]

'Item Record: Tabulae Sacrae Geographica...', *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20Tabulae%20sacrae%20geographicae%20sive%20Notitia%20antiqua%2C%20medii%20temporis%2C%20%26%20nova%20nominum%20vtriusque%20Testamenti%20ad%20geographiam%20pertinentium%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 26 April 2022]

‘Item Record: Ts Kains Diathks Hapanta. = Nouum Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Testamentum..., Sedan: 1628’, *Library Hub Discover* <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?q=keyword%3A%20the%20smallest%20Greek%20Testament%20ever%20printed%2C%20with%20the%20exception%20of%20Pickering%27s%20miniature%20edition%20of%201828%20%20%20%20%20library%3A%20%22ntr%3Antr%3ABlickling%20Hall%22&rn=1&for=ntr> [accessed 3 May 2022]

‘Jean-Baptiste Colbert’, in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), pp. 187–90

‘Jean-Baptiste Colbert’, *University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections* <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/archivespecialcollections/digitisedcollections/provenance/jean-baptistecolbert/> [accessed 27 April 2022]

Jensen, Kristian, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book Trade: Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

‘Jisc Library Hub Discover’ <https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/> [accessed 6 May 2022]

Kelly, Richard J., *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation (with General Introduction, Textual Notes, Tables and Appendices, and Select Bibliography)* (London ; New York: Continuum, 2003)

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1998)

Kopyatoff, Igor, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjan Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 64–92

Kwass, Michael, *The Consumer Revolution, 1650-1800*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022)

Lee, Brian North, ‘Gentlemen and Their Book-Plates’, in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620-1920*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies, Oak Knoll Press, 1991), pp. 43–76

Lee, Sidney, and Michael Bevan, ‘Becket, William (1684–1738), Surgeon and Antiquary’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1900>

Loveman, Kate, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Macdonald, Sharon, 'Expanding Museum Studies: An Introduction, in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald, Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies, 12 (Malden, Mass. ; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 1-12

MacGregor, 'Sloane, Sir Hans, Baronet (1660–1753), Physician and Collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25730>

Maddison, John, *Blickling Hall* (London: National Trust, 1987)

Mandelbrote, Giles, 'Personal Owners of Books', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume 2: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 173–89

——— and Yvonne Lewis, *Learning to Collect: The Library of Sir Richard Ellys (1682-1742)* (London: National Trust, 2004)

——— and K. A. Manley, 'Introduction: The Changing World of Libraries – from Cloister to Hearth', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume 2: 1640–1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–6

——— and Barry Taylor, eds., *Libraries Within the Library: The Origins of the British Museum's Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009)

McKendrick, Neil, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (London: Europa, 1982), pp. 9–33

McKenzie, D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986)

McKitterick, David, 'Bibliography, Bibliophily, and the Organization of Knowledge', in *The Foundations of Scholarship: Libraries & Collecting, 1650-1750: Papers Presented at a Clark Library Seminar 9 March 1985* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1992), pp. 31–61

———, *Old Books, New Technologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Miller, Daniel, 'Materiality: An Introduction', in *Materiality*, ed. by Daniel Miller (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1–50

Millstone, Noah, 'Designed for Collection : Early Modern News and the Production of History', *Media History*, 23.2 (2017), 177–98 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2017.1302323>

Moore, William, *The Gentlemen's Society at Spalding: Its Origin and Progress* (London: William Pickering, 1851)

Morin, Violette, ‘L’objet biographique’, *Communications*, 13.1 (1969), 131–39 <https://doi.org/10.3406/comm.1969.1189>

Morris, Richard, *The Blickling homilies of the tenth century: from the Marquis of Lothian’s unique Ms. A.D.971*, Early English Text Society : Original series, 63 (London: N. Trubner, 1874-80)

Morrish, P. S., ‘Baroque Librarianship’, in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Volume II 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and Keith A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 212–37

O’Brien, David, ‘Public Value and Public Policy in Britain: Prospects and Perspectives’, in *Museums and Public Value: Creating Sustainable Futures*, ed. by Carol Scott (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 145–58

‘Our History: 1884-1945’, *National Trust* <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/what-we-do/who-we-are/our-history%20> [accessed 2 August 2018]

Peacey, Jason, *Print and Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Pearce, Susan M., *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London: Routledge, 1994)

———, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Collecting Cultures (London: Routledge, 1999)

Pearson, David, ‘Books for Use and Books for Show’, in *Book Ownership in Stuart England: The Lyell Lectures, 2018* (Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 111–37

———, ‘Books for Use and Books for Show’ (presented at the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 2018)

———, *Book Ownership in Stuart England: The Lyell Lectures, 2018* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021)

———, ‘Cultures of Collecting’, in *Book Ownership in Stuart England: The Lyell Lectures, 2018* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 138–64

Pichon, Jérôme Frédéric, *The Life of Charles Henry Count Hoym, Ambassador from Saxony-Poland to France and Eminent French Bibliophile, 1694-1736* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1899)

Poole, William, ‘Analysing a Private Library, with a Shelflist Attributable to John Hales of Eton, c. 1624’, in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts: A Festschrift for Gordon Campbell*, ed. by E. Jones (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp. 41–65

———, ‘The Duplicates of Sir Hans Sloane in the Bodleian Library: A Detective Story with Some Comments on Library Organisation’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 23 (2010), 192–213

Purcell, Mark, ‘Books and Readers in Eighteenth-Century Westmorland: The Brownes of Townend’, *Library History*, 25 (2001), 91–106

——— *The Country House Library* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017)

———, ‘The Country House Library Reassess’d: Or, Did the “Country House Library” Ever Really Exist’, *Library History*, 18.3 (2002), 157–74

———, ‘The National Trust and Its Libraries’, *Art Libraries Journal*, 28.2 (2003), 18–21

Raven, James, ‘Country Houses and the Beginnings of Bibliomania’, in *The Intellectual Culture of the British Country House*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, and Margaret Healey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 163–77

———, ‘Debating Bibliomania and the Collection of Books in the Eighteenth Century’, *Library & Information History*, 29.3 (2013), 196–209

———, ‘From Promotion to Proscription: Arrangements for Reading and Eighteenth-Century Libraries’, in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 175–201

———, *What Is the History of the Book?*, What Is History? (Cambridge: Polity, 2018)

Ray, Gordon N., ‘The Private Collector and the Literary Scholar’, in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), pp. 27–81

Ricci, Seymour de, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930)

———, ‘Foreword’, in *Illuminated Manuscripts Incunabula and Americana from the Famous Libraries of the Most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian ... Sale January 27 and 28, 1932 at 8:15 P.M.* (New York: American art association, Anderson Galleries inc, 1932), p. [iii-v]

Rivers, Isabel, ed., *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982)

Roberts, Stephen K., ‘Five Members (Act. 1641)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Ed.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <https://doi-org.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/94998> [accessed 3 March 2019]

Roche, Daniel, ‘Encyclopedias and the Diffusion of Knowledge’, in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. by Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 172–94

Ross, Margaret Clunies, and Amanda J. Collins, 'Maittaire, Michael (1668–1747), Classical Scholar and Typographer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17841>

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1874)

Russell, Conrad, 'Hampden, John (1595–1643), Politician', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Ed.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12169>

Ryken, P.G., 'Boston, Thomas (1676–1732), Church of Scotland Minister and Theologian', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2943>

Saridakis, Charalampos, and Sofia Angelidou, 'A Case-Based Generalizable Theory of Consumer Collecting', *European Journal of Marketing*, 52.5–6 (2018), 946–72 <https://doi.org/10.1108/EJM-10-2016-0570>

Saunderson, Helen, '"Do Not Touch": A Discussion on the Problems of a Limited Sensory Experience with Objects in a Gallery or Museum Context', in *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation : Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*, ed. by Sandra H. Dudley (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 159-170

Scaraboto, Daiane, Marcia Christina Ferreira, and Emily Chung, 'Materials Matter: An Exploration of the Curatorial Practices of Consumers as Collectors', in *Consumer Culture Theory*, ed. by N. OzcaglarToulouse, D. Rinallo, and R. W. Belk (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd, 2017), XVIII, 219–43

'Scheide Donates Rare Books Library to Princeton; Collection Is Largest Gift in University's History', *Princeton University* <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2015/02/16/scheide-donates-rare-books-library-princeton-collection-largest-gift-universitys> [accessed 19 August 2022]

Schrijver, Emile, '"Next Year in Jerusalem!": A Haggadah at Blickling Hall', *Apollo: The International Art Magazine*, November 2004, pp. 66–69

———, 'An Unknown Passover Haggadah by Joseph Ben David of Leipnik in the Library of Blickling Hall', *Zutot*, 2.1 (2002), 170–80 <https://doi.org/10.1163/187502102788638978>

Scott-Warren, Jason, 'Commonplacing and Originality: Reading Francis Meres', *The Review of English Studies*, 68.287 (2017), 902–23 <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgx044>

———, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Shaw, David, ‘French Emigres in the London Book Trade to 1850’, in *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2003), pp. 127–43

Sherman, William H., ‘The Social Life of Books’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 164–74

———, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

Shore, Heather, ‘Gonson, Sir John (1676/7–1765), Magistrate’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/96892>

‘Specimen, n.’, *OED Online* (Oxford University Press) <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/186018> [accessed 26 April 2022]

Stebbins, Robert A., ‘Serious Leisure: A Conceptual Statement’, *Pacific Sociological Review*, 25.2 (1982), 251–72 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1388726>

Stobart, J., and Ilja van Damme, eds., *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade: European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Stoker, David, ‘Harley, Edward, Second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689–1741), Book Collector and Patron of the Arts’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12337>

Sugden, ‘Veil, Sir Thomas de (1684–1746), Magistrate’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38735>

Swann, Marjorie, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001)

Sweet, Henry, *The oldest English texts: edited with introductions and a glossary*, Early English Text Society : Original series, 83 (London: Trübner for the Early English Text Society, 1885)

Tanselle, G. Thomas, ‘The Concept of “Ideal Copy”’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 33 (1980), 18–53

Towsey, Mark, ‘Book Use and Sociability in Lost Libraries of the Eighteenth Century : Towards a Union Catalogue’, in *Lost Books : Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. by Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 414–38

Venn, John, and J.A. Venn, ‘Hull, Thomas’, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of*

Cambridge, From the Earliest Times to 1900. Part I: From the Earliest Times to 1751 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 428

Viardot, Jean, 'Livres Rares et Pratiques Bibliophiliques', in *Histoire de l'edition Francaise Tome II: Le Livre Triomphant, 1660-1830*, ed. by Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1984), pp. 447–67

———, 'Naissance de La bibliophilie: les cabinets de livres rares', in *Histoire des bibliotèques françaises tome II: les bibliotèques sous l'Ancien Regime, 1530-1789*, ed. by Claude Jolly (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 269–89

———, 'Qu'est-Ce Que La Bibliophilie?', *Revue d'histoire Litteraire de La France*, 115 (2015), 27–47

Watson, Paula, 'Ellys, Richard (c.1674-1742), of Nocton, Lincs.', *History of Parliament Online* <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1715-1754/member/ellys-richard-1674-1742> [accessed 22 April 2022]

Welsh, Anne, and Sue Batley, *Practical Cataloguing: AACR, RDA and MARC 21* (London: Facet, 2012)

West, Susie, 'An Overlooked Inventory for Blickling Hall, Norfolk', *Library History*, 19.2 (2003), 143–45

———, 'The Development of Libraries in Norfolk Country Houses, 1660-1830' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia, 2000)

Wilkin, John P., 'Meanings of the Library Today', in *The Meaning of the Library: A Cultural History*, ed. by Alice Crawford (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 236–53

Wimsatt, W. K., and M. C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *The Sewanee Review*, 54.3 (1946), 468–88

Wright, Louis B., 'The Book Collector as Public Benefactor', in *The Private Collector and the Support of Scholarship: Papers Read at a Clark Library Seminar* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), pp. 3–23

Wykes, David L., 'Williams, Daniel (c. 1643–1716), Presbyterian Minister and Benefactor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Ed.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29491>

Zemon Davis, Natalie, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France : The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5.33 (1983), 69–88

Zytaruk, Maria, 'Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 80.1 (2011), 1–23 <https://doi.org/10.1353/utq.2011.0003>